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MICHIGAN STATE NORMAL COLLEGE
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MAY 1955

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

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CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF CANADA ASSOCIATION DES ÉTUDES CLASSIQUES AU CANADA

The Ninth Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of Canada will be held at the University of Toronto (in the city of the same name in Ontario), on Saturday, 4 June 1955, commencing at 10 A.M.

In addition to the luncheon address by the Association's Hon. President, Leonard W. Brockington CMG, QC, papers will be read by the following:
M. Lebel (Université Laval, Québec): "Athos — its monasteries & MSS". (Ill.)

J. E. A. Crake (Mt. Allison U., New Brunswick): "Political Situation at Rome during Punic War II".

W. M. Hugill (University of Manitoba): "Virgil and Bellona".

Etienne Gareau (University of Ottawa): "La Pensée des Interlocuteurs du *De Oratore*".

Grace Irwin (well known Canadian novelist): "Wiser than the Children of Light".

Visitors are cordially invited to attend.

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THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

Edited by Grace L. Beede

PUBLICITY FOR LATIN

Convinced that it is the responsibility of Latin teachers themselves to encourage clear thinking about language study in school and community by developing facilities for telling others on the outside just what our subject is and what contribution it is making to the education of youth, the Minnesota Classical Conference maintains a vigorous Committee on Membership and Publicity, headed by Eleanor Wilson, Bethany College, Mankato. A program of publicity to reach not only the school, but also the community, state, and nation was evolved by establishing the following points, quoted from the "Minnesota Latin Newsletter" for December last.

I. HOW CAN WE PROMOTE PUBLICITY FOR THE CLASSICS WITHIN THE CLASSROOM?

- (1) Discuss items that appear in the *Classical Outlook*, *Classical Journal*, and various periodicals.
- (2) Invite students to correspond with students in foreign countries.
- (3) Have former students speak on how Latin has helped them in their work.
- (4) Enter all Latin contests whether or not there is a possibility of winning.
- (5) Plan Roman banquets, treasure hunts and other events that will evoke comment and discussion among both students and faculty.

II. PUBLICITY FOR THE CLASSICS WITHIN THE SCHOOL MAY BE GAINED BY CARRYING OUT THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS:

- (1) Use the main bulletin board for displays; also make use of the library for this purpose.
- (2) Put on programs to which other classes are invited.
- (3) Ask members of other departments to speak on the value of Latin to them, to read a selection in Latin, to explain technical terms, etc.
- (4) Sponsor a speaker on a lyceum program.
- (5) Prepare a radio program, e.g. "A Day Without Latin." (Service Bureau item.)
- (6) Have mottoes, phrases, etc., on the blackboards in various classes.

III. UTILIZE THE PRESS IN PROMOTING PUBLICITY FOR THE CLASSICS:

- (1) Send in to the *Classical Journal*, *Classical Outlook*, and other periodicals and Newsletters announcements of all activities.
- (2) Cover all functions of the Latin department for the local paper.
- (3) In writing and discussing career articles, call attention to the value of Latin for that career.
- (4) Call to the attention of columnists the work that various Latin departments are doing.
- (5) When writing articles on hobbies and other fields of interest, include mention that the writer is a Latin instructor.

IV. HOW CAN WE AS INDIVIDUALS, IN OUR OWN ACTIVITIES AND SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, PROMOTE THE CLASSICS?

- (1) Attend Latin conferences whenever possible.
- (2) Upon return to school, write an article for the school and local paper.
- (3) Give a talk to the faculty to inform them of the nature and accomplishments of the meeting.

EX ORE INFANTUM

THIS IS NOT a scholarly article. At times, the reader may even think it an undignified one. It is essentially a complaint, the complaint of a young teacher who will restate old ideas, in the hope that by repetition bordering on nagging, progress will result.

It would astound no one to say that the huge majority of second year Latin students enter upon their year's work with an inadequate, to use the more charitable adjective, grasp of Latin fundamentals. And please note the word "fundamentals". Futures of the third and fourth conjugations, forms of the third declension, ablative uses—all have an almost uncanny ability to unnerve the sophomore in Latin. The essential purpose of this paper is to state the belief, certainly not new or singular, that one of the main

reasons, and the only one to be corrected with any ease, for this ignorance of first principles is the poor, almost chaotic, presentation of the material in contemporary text-books. Not that all the evil is to be assigned to the authors of text-books. Far from it. Poor teaching, lack of study, the inherent difficulty of Latin (which need not be an unsurpassable obstacle), these too are causes, but they require a remedy which only time can bring, and the latter cause, the difficulty of the language, can never be cured. Revision of text-books is, however, within immediate range.

To the mind of the writer, the texts in use today, with few exceptions, contain three basic errors:

1. They wait too long before giving the student real work in Latin.
2. They divide that which should be logically connected and so scatter syntactical rules as to actually increase the student's problem.
3. They commit the gravest psychological error possible by pretending that Latin is "easy".

Now to take up these points in order.

After a study of the texts most frequently used in first year courses of Latin in the secondary school, a figure and an impression were made on the mind of at least the researcher. Approximately two-thirds of the texts took anywhere from eight to thirteen lessons to introduce the first declension. That was the figure. Ridiculous! That was the impression.

The neophyte in his first class in beginner's Latin presents the teacher with a great opportunity. Not yet hostile, he is at worst suspicious and, in all events, curious to see what will be offered. Clearly this attitude can be well used. There is at least a will to work which, if taken advantage of, can spell the difference between a success and a failure. Now it would seem sensible for the texts to aid the teacher in his battle to win the mind of the pupil. But do they? In my opinion, they do not. Consider a few details. One text devotes one lesson to the Latin alphabet, another to definitions of parts of speech, in English; yet a third to Latin pronunciation, and in the fourth finally, with hesitant approach, offers the Nominative Plural of the first declension. Some eight lessons later, the student sees, if he is still awake, the first declension as a whole. Another text, somewhat more bold, gives the Nominative Plural in the third lesson and solves the mystery in only seven more. One of the most popular texts also takes thirteen

lessons to vivisect and reconstruct the first declension, which is admittedly the easiest in the Latin language. But the palm must surely be taken by another text which offers as its motto—*Repetitio est Mater Studiorum*. Artistically hacking to pieces the first two declensions in thirteen lessons and treating verbs, pronouns and all other declensions in the same manner, it obviously confuses repetition with hypnosis. Truly, repetition is the mother of knowledge, but repetition of disjointed members is not.

Now no one denies that the alphabet, pronunciation and case definitions are fit matter for lessons. Nor can one impugn the intentions of those who believe that the human mind can better grasp truth by a process of destruction and reconstruction than by one of construction and analysis, though one may dispute the validity of the theory. What one must abhor and lament is the fact that the matter and the idea lose the student. Results may be achieved, but they are inferior. Consequently, the weak student is deceived, for the same texts which devote fifty-four labored pages to the first declension feel no qualms later in giving the third declension regular in one lesson, followed immediately by "i" stems and the third conjugation future in the next. The average student is bored and wonders if all Latin comes that slowly. The advanced student has reached the end point ages ago and wonders if the Romans went through this too.

Certainly it would seem wiser if the texts in question introduced the first declension, *in toto*, in the first lesson. Soon after the present tense of *esse* and the present of a typical first conjugation verb could be offered. This, to the minds of many, would have several advantages. It would give the teacher the advantage of teaching a complete entity, instead of a butchered manikin. The student would be introduced to the discipline surely to be required later and so would not be under any illusions. The reading matter contained in the early lessons could thus almost border on the intelligent rather than the dullness of "Britannia est insula" and the embarrassing labels, of (Dative, to—) appearing in the eighth lesson. By this means, the poorer student could be aided earlier; the average cautioned; the advanced fired; and, in some degree, all three captured. Would it not be worth the trial?

Closely connected with this declensional heresy of "Divide and Reconquer" is a syntactical one—"Grammar as a Function". It is not uncommon to read in an author's

preface that he desires the student to be "trained to read Latin for the content and not as an exercise based on grammar." Or again, "to show in a functional way" the use of grammar. Obviously the idea is wonderful. Experience with it in the concrete is at times less than pleasant. Look again at the statements quoted above. Certainly the first betrays a sad misconception of the purpose of the first year of Latin. It proposes to train its students "to read Latin for the content and not as an exercise based on grammar." What hokum! Disregarding the rather obvious fact that the greater portion of the selections of first year Latin reading approaches the asinine in content, the first year of Latin is not offered as an "appreciation" course. It is offered to allow the student to master the fundamentals of knowledge so that later he may appreciate its niceties. Imagine the absurdity contained in the phrase "not as an exercise based on grammar!" Perhaps one should consider that the sentence "Agricola patriam amat." was included for thought content. On no basis at all does the first notion stand.

The idea "to show in a functional way" is more subtle. What does it mean? Grammar taught functionally? Please translate! Upon closer inspection one discovers the meaning. By way of example: Chapter Heading: Genitive types. Agreement of Adjectives and Expressions of Place from which.

Some fifty pages later, a real gem of wit appears. After one paragraph and four splendid examples of the ablative of separation, this conclusion is offered — very often it cannot be distinguished from the ablative of place from which. Why not then place it is closer space relation? The uses of the ablative are particularly well divided, pages 48, 97, 103, 109, 192, 210, 230, 236, 275, and 307 containing the choicer viands. This then seems to be the functional approach. Scatter and separate and leave it to the teacher somehow to tie the ropes together.

Would it not seem better to unite similar usages in the same case? To cover the range of usages assigned at a more clipped pace and thus leave ample time for review? It is all well and good to preach grammar as a function, but at times does not the practice almost touch on intellectual dishonesty? The first year teacher who scoffs at the "regimentation" of older texts is often the second year teacher who bemoans the darkness of this enlightened age.

Lastly, modern text-books throw away what could be Latin's greatest psychologi-

cal weapon — its inherent difficulty. The great majority of present-day texts are modeled with a mind to preaching the ease of Latin study, the freedom of Latin grammar, the gay time to be had by all. Charmingly illustrated books with interesting English essays and here and there Latin cases, reading and constructions. The picture is doubtless exaggerated, but in substance it is true.

What a mockery! Who indeed knows better than the Latin teacher that Latin has a way of presenting difficulties at any age? Not even the reading of Greek, after the first struggle with grammar, seldom taught functionally, presents such difficulties. The Latin teacher, the author of the Latin text, knows that behind the first thirteen lessons on one thing a veritable parade of factual knowledge waits to be acquired. Why then the pretense? To this question one can hardly offer an answer. But one thing is certain. The pretense is ruinous. Youth loves a challenge — in anything. Why is it that the students who are undaunted by "Math. and Chem." shudder at the word "Latin"? For one of two reasons. Either they were victims of a propaganda scheme to portray Latin as impossible, or they, after experience, found out that it wasn't "easy" as teacher and text seemed to imply. The first can be wiped out only gradually; the second can be corrected now. A Latin text-book and its teacher have an obligation to impress on the student that Latin is not a "song". They should boldly state that Latin requires work, that it takes self-discipline, that it demands the talent of a young man, not a child. Perhaps this is written with the idealism of a youngster in the teaching ranks; but surely, considering the reality as it is now, this approach could do no more damage. And it has the power to do a great deal of good.

Thus then this petulant paper closes. It makes no claim to originality. Its deficiencies, place at the door of inexperience rather than at that of deliberate malice. But on one point it holds firm. The present Latin I text-books, with few exceptions, are immediate and great obstacles to intelligible teaching and intelligent learning. Before attention is turned to such luxuries as Latin Conversation and Vergil in the second year, a meditative study of the basis of our present-day texts ought to be the main thought in the mind of Latin teachers.

Ex ore infantum . . . !

BROTHER MERIC, CFX
Xaverian College, Md.

Learning Latin by Correspondence

(Read at the fiftieth annual meeting of the CAMWS, St. Louis)

THE IDEA possessed by many of our younger students that the only way an individual acquires an education is through having information ladled out by a teacher to a class-room full of pupils is not only erroneous but not in accord with the history of education. A glance at the lives of some of the early Americans shows that Thomas Jefferson after leaving the College of William and Mary with a knowledge of Latin, Greek, and French, soon mastered Italian, Spanish, and Anglo-Saxon by himself. Benjamin Franklin, with much less formal schooling, learned French, Italian, Spanish, and Latin, in his spare time, after he had reached his late twenties and was already a *paterfamilias* and head of a flourishing printing and publishing business. George Washington, who had been trained largely by tutors, studied by himself much of the mathematics necessary to his profession of surveying and perhaps wished that he had devoted more time to French; for he had to take along an interpreter for that language on his expedition in the French and Indian War.

To a large degree correspondence study is very much like study by oneself. Formal correspondence courses, however, were not developed until after the middle of the nineteenth century. The cheap and efficient postal system first adopted in England in 1840 must be given the credit for facilitating the development of learning through the mails. Similarly, in recent years, courses for home study are offered by radio and television. In some localities courses presented by radio are adapted to outlines and texts, and examinations for credit in them are given by the educational institution sponsoring the broadcasts.

The first institution to teach by correspondence was a language school in Berlin which offered this method of instruction in 1856. Russia has by this time undoubtedly laid claim to have discovered the efficacy of correspondence teaching since the Russians are now offering courses by correspondence as part of their cultural and educational program. In England, various courses by correspondence were organized in 1868 to give factory workers the opportunity of improving both their industrial skills and academic education through home study.

In the United States correspondence courses were first offered by Cornell University in 1883. Soon after its founding in

1892, the University of Chicago organized correspondence courses in academic subjects to supplement the education of adults who had already had some academic training. By 1928 one hundred and fifty-four colleges were offering such courses. Vocational and business courses by correspondence were developed in the International Correspondence School of Philadelphia by the year 1900. Though this institution was a favorite subject for jokes in the great days of vaudeville, it has always given its patrons a genuine opportunity for self-improvement. Many other schools were largely frauds, organized to profit from the sale of text-books required for the courses. Hence in 1926, The National Home Study Council was organized in Washington, D. C. under The Office of Education of the Federal Security Agency, now a division of The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This council inspects and accredits occupational and academic courses offered by correspondence. Correspondence courses for members of the armed forces were offered by the Marine Corps Institute in 1920. President Eisenhower himself while stationed at Camp Meade in 1919-1920 was, as well as the late General Patton, devoting much time to these courses from the general staff school at Fort Leavenworth, and from the tank officers school, from which he was graduated in January 1923.

The spread of study by correspondence has been much greater in the United States and Canada because of the great distances than in Britain, where a larger percentage of the population live in urban areas.

During and after World War II, a great impetus was given to such courses by the USAFI, under which the armed forces paid the cost of instruction and collaborated with established extension divisions in colleges, as well as organizing their own courses at some army centers. During the war I had one student in the Coast Guard who learned his Latin while, as I found out much later, he was on duty on a ship off the foggy Aleutians. Later a student stationed in Tokyo with the Army of Occupation was taking at the same time a course in Latin from The University of Texas and one in advanced English from the G-I University of Manila, and consequently claimed an academic distance record.

At present each year in the United States, three times as many people register for at least one course by correspondence as enter all colleges and universities in the freshman year. About a million and a half students, or nearly one per cent of the total population, are enrolled in these courses. Nearly four hundred and fifty educational institutions offer accredited correspondence study. These are largely state colleges and universities, but many of the larger private universities have a correspondence division.

The mechanics of the courses are handled in various ways. In general, the student deals directly with the division. Where, however, a high school student is taking a course not offered by his school in order to meet the entrance requirements of the college he expects to attend, the school handles the details. The correspondence divisions of some colleges, as for example the University of Kentucky, are now offering courses in Latin on the high school level to meet the needs of students in secondary schools where the subject is not taught at all or the small number of enrollees will not permit the organization of a class. Even if, however, the extension division of a college does not as a rule admit high school students to correspondence courses, it will generally do so on the special request of a high school in the situation described, which intends to give credit towards its own diploma on the completion of the work. In such instances the correspondence school may furnish the outline and allow a local teacher to supervise and grade the course, especially if several students are doing the same work at the same time.

It may be of interest to note why people register for Latin courses by correspondence. Besides college students using Latin to satisfy a requirement and taking it when not in residence, individuals enroll for various reasons. Among these are teachers assigned to conduct Latin classes, some of whom wish to brush up or extend their knowledge of Latin; others with insufficient preparation take refuge in correspondence study lest they be like the teacher referred to in the *Satyricon* of Petronius and teach more than they know. There are also professional men and women, and others, with or without a college degree, who wish to keep up a cultural interest and so either begin or continue a study of Latin.

As a subject to choose for a correspondence course, Latin has an advantage over the beginner's courses in the modern lan-

guages, since in the method of presentation now used for modern languages, the student is required to secure with the lessons a set of records and listen to them in order to perfect his pronunciation. The final examination in courses with this requirement includes comprehension of a record in the language. To master our accepted pronunciation of Latin is a comparatively simple matter. The rules are in the text books. The student should be required occasionally to divide words into syllables and accent them in order to check on the quantity he is giving the penult. He should be reminded of the pure vowel sounds and asked to check his pronunciation with the approximate vowel sounds given in the chapter on the sounds of Latin. There is no need to insist on the mastery of the international phonetic alphabet.

In any Latin course by correspondence, the instructor should, especially in beginning work, know with what, if any, languages besides English the student is familiar, his reason for taking the course, and his interests. Though the same outline is used for all students, this knowledge is valuable in clearing up problems which may arise for individuals and certainly helps to keep up the student's interest. Lessons should be returned with some comment, if only praise for good work. Furthermore students should be encouraged to write not too lengthy remarks to show that they are really thinking over the lessons. If lessons are returned without comment, the student is inclined to feel that they are not read over carefully and is likely to hand in slipshod work that merely covers the assignment, not to master the content of the course.

A correspondence student is warned against the use of unfair aids in preparing the lesson submitted but this does not exclude occasional assistance from a teacher in his school or work with another student. No educational system forbids students to study together or to get help in the preparation of homework, provided they understand what they are doing and do not have someone else actually prepare the lesson handed in. Moreover, in correspondence courses the final grade has to be reckoned largely on the basis of the final examination, that is, on what the student knows at the time he has completed the course and hence may retain as part of his educational background. Since he works out his lessons with books at hand, he must be warned to master the Latin vocabulary, rather than to wear out the dictionary at the back of the text by frequent reference to it.

Recently in an article on teaching partially deaf children to talk, it was stated that such a child must repeat a word thirty-three times, associating it with the object, before being able to use it in conversation. Students who complain of the difficulty of remembering the meanings of Latin words must in a similar manner repeat each word with the English equivalent until they retain the meaning and not fall into the bad habit of looking up a word every time it occurs.

In Latin courses above the first year, the student must put in much more work than he would if he were taking the same subject in class. Unless the instructor is a bit remiss, the student should be required to write out translation of all the reading that would be covered in class. In preparing for a class recitation the student at times does part of the assignment carelessly or feels that he knows the meaning of a passage when his rendition would not be intelligible to anyone else. When, however, he writes it out, he cannot fail to consider whether the translation is in idiomatic English that will stand on re-reading. If it is not, he will probably work it over before sending in the lesson. A poor or careless student should be trained by the first few assignments to greater application and to send in lessons at a slower rate. After all, the instructor cannot be expected to return lessons entirely re-written. The system that a student should use, writing out, correcting, and copying to hand in, then going over the returned lessons, is to some extent a substitution for classroom drill. Another point which puts a greater burden on the student learning by correspondence is the fact that he is asked to find out the answers to literary and historical questions on points in the reading, instead of gaining this subject matter from the teacher. Students in small communities have been known to keep the local librarian working overtime on their behalf.

The instructor in charge of correspondence courses, as any teacher, has an obligation to keep the course outlines reasonably up-to-date and also to note on the returned lessons some striking parallel that may occur in the news. An alert student will soon acquire the habit of making such parallels for himself. Thus his Latin even by correspondence becomes alive and he realizes that current events have ancient prototypes.

Finally, when the student has completed all the assigned lessons he should be given an examination made out by the teacher who corrected the lessons and, preferably,

made out the outline; for no two persons stress the same points in a course and it is only fair to the student that he be asked questions on points that have been emphasized aside from translation. The actual examiner merely supervises and signs to the effect that the student finished within a given time and had no outside help.

Unfortunately, perhaps, a large proportion of correspondence students do not complete their courses for one reason or another. Those who are making up required work by this method have a time limit for completing the assignments and must budget their time accordingly, allowing definite intervals for the completion of each lesson so that there is no deluge of hurriedly prepared lessons before the last possible date for the examination to be taken and the grade recorded. At least once in such a rush I had the questions go astray in the mail and examination questions had to be dictated over the long distance telephone to make the deadline for the final grade.

Indeed a student who learns his Latin or part of it by correspondence has to put more actual time and study on a course than he would if he were taking it in class. He will therefore after successfully completing a course in Latin by correspondence not only have gained intellectual training but also have "developed in a marked degree," to quote from the announcement of correspondence courses of the University of Texas, "initiative, self-reliance, accuracy, and above all perseverance," which certainly add up to character building.

ERNESTINE F. LEON

University of Texas

GREEK PLAY

Euripides' *Electra* was announced today by Sister Hildegard Marie, president of the College of Saint Elizabeth, as the Greek play to be presented Saturday, May 14 and Sunday, May 15 in the outdoor Greek Theatre on campus. The fifth century B.C. tragedy will be presented in the English translation of Gilbert Murray. Students at the college traditionally give a Greek play in the amphitheatre every four years.

"The preservation of our cultural heritage in the midst of modern emphasis on technology is one of the primary functions of a liberal arts institution such as the College of Saint Elizabeth," Sister Hildegard Marie affirmed.

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The Future of the Past

THE TITLE of this paper evoked from a friend the admonition that for the past to have a future is a metaphysical impossibility. But perhaps it is not a metaphorical impossibility, and sustained by that faith I make bold to peer prophetically into the future of the classics in the United States. In such an undertaking the margin of probable error is high, and I admit that my optometrist, though a most loyal and helpful fellow, has been unable to fit me with glasses that guarantee twenty-twenty foresight. But no amount of myopia and astigmatism will deter a seer who remembers that Tiresias was totally blind. So, Leuconoe, *quid sit futurum cras stude quaerere*.

Boss Kettering, the genius of General Motors, is the author of a characteristically pungent remark: "I am interested only in the future, because that's where I'm going to spend the rest of my life." *Et ego*, Sir Boss. But another apophthegm has it that the person who never looks back is a very backward person. To the extent that the lessons of the past are meaningful to the future, Boss Kettering is just as eager as you and I to learn those lessons. Suppose we destroy the past with the shiny weapons with which human ingenuity has recently provided us. Then where are we? Pertinent here is an observation made a couple of years ago by Albert Einstein. When asked with what weapons World War III will be fought, the sage of Princeton replied: "I do not know. But I am sure of one thing. World War IV will be

fought with clubs." If we renounce or destroy the past, our future will be limited to clubs, to stone axes, to life in caves. Yet the voluntary renunciation of the classical past is exactly what has been urged and in some cases secured by the potentates of American secondary education.

When our ancestors arrived from Europe, they declined to live in wigwams and become assimilated to the Amerindians. They clung sturdily to the European culture which they brought with them, and they did not believe it possible, even in a New World, to abandon the Hebraic, Hellenic, and Roman foundations of that culture. When they devised the Great Seal of the United States, they did not write on it something about Pocahontas or Hiawatha or Minnehaha, but rather the words: *NOVUS ORDO SECLORUM*. Vergil's words, one notes, and in Vergil's language.

Our inherited culture from Europe is the culture which is truly significant to our future, and to see its foundations being nibbled away by educational termites has been one of the most melancholy spectacles of my lifetime. *O tempora! O morones!* Put it this way: We have received from the classical past a cartload of golden apples, but for many recent years powerful educational forces have been trying to upset the apple-cart and lose its contents. To impoverish our future by robbing us of the golden wisdom of the past is the chief educational crime of the twentieth century.

Now I am not preaching the doctrine of classics for all, and neither are you. The French philosopher Gilson observed in a recent speech that the animus against the humanities in the New World was largely caused by the presumptuous and unreasonable attempt to impose them on everybody in school. Need we expect that people who abhor an art museum, detest classical music, and loathe poetry will fall in love with Cicero and Vergil? They won't, and we might as well leave such persons to their comic books. Democratic mass education in this country shoves everybody into school, willy-nilly, up to the age of sixteen. Into the high-school classrooms troop the future engineers, scientists, lawyers, and intellectuals; but along with them shuffles a lack-luster motley crew of hopeless nincompoops and televidiots. For the latter group a teacher can't be much except a harassed baby-sitter. The Europeans, looking with baffled doubt at our gigantic experiment in mass education, say: "American education is the inculcation of the incomprehensible into the ignorant by the incompetent." A harsh judgment, and not aimed at the teachers of classics. The classics, almost by definition, are something fine and exquisite, unlikely to appeal to the masses. I acknowledge that in a democracy all men are equal, but nevertheless I do believe that some are more equal than others. Let's try to give the classics to those who are capable of receiving them.

Soberly now, what hope may we reasonably entertain for the future of the classics in the United States? No classicist who appraises the present situation is apt to light up with a neon glow of optimism; but neither is there occasion for black pessimism. Although the battle is an uneven one between the eggheads and jugheads, my estimate is that we can at least hold our own at the present unsatisfactory level, and we may make scattered gains. Gains in some places may be negated by losses elsewhere, and I repeat that I

am not dizzy with prophetic optimism. But since the forces which operate against us are discouragingly familiar and need no rehearsal for readers of this *Journal*, let us try to draw up a roster of favorable circumstances. *Dulce est prospicere in loco.*

Some decades ago mathematicians and teachers of modern languages gleefully allied themselves with the foes of the classics and helped in the campaign to chase Latin out of the schools. But the strategy of the main foe, as we have sorrowfully learned, was to attack and demolish the older subjects one by one, and when the educationists began to fire both barrels at algebra and geometry and French and Spanish, the disillusioned teachers of those studies realized their error and began to realign themselves on our side. Thus the so-called academic subjects, abandoning their former mutual recriminations and dog-eat-dog tendencies, are forming a united front in self-defence. We do not stand alone. Let us examine some concrete facts about our allies and what they are doing.

The decision of the MLA in 1951 to superadd to its scholarly endeavors the defence of foreign languages in the schools was revolutionary and was a blow struck for us. For almost three years the MLA, working with a grant of \$120,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation, has been doing effective work for the welfare of foreign languages in the elementary and secondary schools and colleges and universities of the United States. The Rockefeller Foundation has now allotted an additional \$120,000 to allow the MLA to push the cause with equal or even greater energy for three more years, from 1955 to 1958. While this mighty effort is concentrated on the status of the modern languages in our schools, Latin is often an indirect beneficiary. For example, how can we help profiting from the fact, ascertained by the MLA, that 30% of our colleges and universities require (not recommend but require) foreign

language for admission, and 85% require foreign language for an A.B. degree, if insufficient language or none is presented for admission? In all cases Latin is acceptable, on a parity with the modern languages, to fulfill the entrance or degree requirement. Think of what this means when college enrollments are growing tremendously and are about to grow even faster.

It used to be fashionable to sneer at Latin as "merely a college prep subject," and we were told that only 15% of the high school graduates go to college. This weather-beaten argument, although it is still being repeated, has lost its validity. A certain public high-school in a wealthy suburb of the city of my residence sends 98% of its graduates to college. All over the country 44.6% of the high-school graduates enter college. On these matters of college enrollment it happens that the chief expert in the United States is the registrar of Ohio State University. He states that the proportion of high-school graduates who enter college is increasing by one percentage point each year. It is about time that the educationists should stop decrying algebra, geometry, history, and Latin as "merely college prep subjects," valuable only to a minority. The college prep subjects, under the circumstances of 1955, ought to have top billing in every high school, and those who refuse to give them top billing are guilty of treason towards our children. The colleges are becoming furiously indignant at the public schools for sending them a flood of students who don't know the basic subjects, don't know algebra, don't know geometry, don't know any foreign language, and have to be registered in zero English because they have never written a theme and can't spell a monosyllable like *t-o-o*. For its valiant and continuing struggle to better this condition we proffer a hand of gratitude and fellowship to the MLA.

On the matter of cooperation it is worth mentioning that the MLA has stimulated the formation in Ohio of an

Ohio Foreign Language Council, which includes a strong representation from the Ohio Classical Conference. This group, newly formed, is a highly encouraging manifestation, because it is brimful of lively ideas and is working just as zealously for Latin as for the modern languages. Probably other states do have or soon will have similar coordinating councils.

The historians are also rallying to our support, because they notice with alarm the tendency of the public schools to let history go down the drain along with all the other academic subjects. Last November I heard a radio debate between a historian and an educationist over the curriculum of the public schools, and I was gratified to hear the historian argue just as strongly in favor of mathematics and Latin as of history. And most of us know about the effective and fearless battle being waged in behalf of the academic subjects by Arthur E. Bestor, Professor of American History at the University of Illinois. Mr. Bestor has found strong backing at the University of Illinois and elsewhere, and his steady drumfire of attack upon the foes of learning has awakened rounds of applause all over the nation. He is trying to get the American Historical Association aroused to defend history and by implication the whole academic curriculum in our public schools, just as the MLA has become aroused. To the bulldog tenacity of Professor Bestor in our cause we give an admiring salute.

From the united front which I have been describing, it seems to me that the teachers of mathematics and science have thus far for the most part held aloof. Nevertheless the figures assembled by our friend Professor Latimer of George Washington University show that in 1900 80% of the high school students took mathematics, as compared with less than 50% today, and 20% took physics, as compared with 5% today. In view of these devastating facts we cordially invite and urge the mathematicians and scientists

to join with us in a drive to restore sanity in lieu of lunacy in our high-school curriculum.

The sentiments of the colleges regarding foreign languages are crystal clear and unanimous. They were most powerfully expressed just two years ago when the Association for Higher Education held its eighth national conference in Chicago. The 719 delegates unanimously passed the following resolution: "Be it resolved: That this Conference recommend that increasing provisions be made for the study and effective teaching of foreign languages and cultures at all levels in American education—elementary, secondary, higher." This resolution was a haymaker aimed at the isolationists and xenophobes and xenoglottophobes who have been screaming against the foreign languages and anything else that is foreign. The colleges think the U.S.A. ought to join the world. So does Ogden Nash, who quotes Terence's celebrated motto, "Nothing human is alien to me," and satirizes our big-mouthed and small-minded chauvinists who trumpet that "nothing alien is human."

The colleges are much better pleased with the curriculum of the parochial and private schools, where every one knows that the academic courses, including Latin and modern languages, are studied relentlessly, even to the possible neglect of driver-education, consumer education, and band. Our critics among the educationists proclaim that the private schools prove nothing, because, unlike the public schools, they have a highly select and intelligent clientèle. We will grant this about the private schools, but what about the parochial schools? The clientèle of the parochial schools is not highly select and is no more intelligent than that of the public schools. Yet these boys and girls study Latin and algebra, where their exact counterparts in the public schools don't. From their Latin and algebra many of the parochial schoolchildren, through

unwillingness or inability to learn, derive precious little profit; but such addele-pated or unwilling pupils would also derive precious little profit from educational gewgaws, claptrap, and quackery. As I look into the future of Latin, I see considerable hope in the resolute steadfastness of the private and parochial schools.

While I am on the subject of parochial schools, my familiarity with them for the past twenty-five years prompts me to utter a complaint. The theory of the parochial schools appears to be, first, that Latin, being a required subject, does not have to be taught well; and second, that practically any nun knows enough Latin to be a Latin teacher. I hasten to say that nuns who enjoy Latin and who have voluntarily and specifically trained themselves to be Latin teachers are doing fine work and do not fall within the scope of my criticism. But other nuns who have no inclination and no adequate preparation to teach Latin are often forced to do it, and they are likely to teach in a wooden, dull, uninspired, and formalistic way that is highly damaging to the reputation of Latin among the students. Our parochial schools are not immune to criticism and pressure, and I wonder whether they can continue to maintain Latin on a pedestal if they don't treat it better. Wherever Latin is required on the ground that it is fundamental, the school authorities have a high obligation to see that it is taught well. Please!

Now I want to draw your attention to another harbinger of hope. The largest, fastest growing, most optimistic, and most energetic classical organization in the world exists here in the United States. I refer to the Junior Classical League, once the bouncing baby of the American Classical League, but now, having grown with the rapidity of the infant Hercules, become a giant youth striding ahead with matchless intrepidity and boundless enthusiasm. The JCL was founded, as a happy inspiration, in 1936, and by last July

had leaped up to a membership of 22,567. In the school year of 1953-1954 the membership of the JCL in Connecticut soared from 60 to 1054. I witnessed a national convention of the JCL in Oxford, Ohio, and felt a new surge of courage in my old bones when I saw and listened to the intelligent and ebullient youngsters who are working for our cause in the high schools. From the JCL will come the future teachers and defenders of Latin, and as I looked at them I felt pretty good. The teacher in Clay High School near Toledo told the most recent Ohio Classical Conference that the Latin enrollment in her school has recently doubled because of the interest that the boys and girls take in the JCL. The most heavily attended classical convention that Ohio ever saw was the 1954 statewide convention of the JCL, with 657 attending. If the JCL represents the wave of the future, as I believe it does, then we ancient mariners may sail on with tranquil assurance.

Another favorable portent is the enthusiasm with which the disciples of Waldo Sweet at the University of Michigan accept and learn and carry out the Sweet method of teaching Latin. I personally am convinced that no one method of teaching Latin is right for all teachers, and I notice that a good many of the oldtimers are not disposed to accept the Sweet method *tout de suite*; but a person who, like Sweet, shows others how to teach Latin with zest and vivacity deserves not a wet blanket but a gold medal. Latin is not dead, and cannot be made to appear dead except in the hands of a teacher who is dull, defeatist, and despairing. The teachers who have come within Sweet's orbit are not tired with despair but fired with confidence. Their method may be right or may be wrong, but their ardor vanquishes every obstacle. So I cast a fragrant bouquet towards Ann Arbor, while I murmur, "Sweets to the Sweet."

I foresee in the coming half-century less use of Latin composition, with cor-

respondingly less hostility from the pupils towards Latin. Mr. Sweet proposes to use not so much composition as great swatches of simple and repetitious conversational Latin; and I favor his idea. Lest it should seem that I decry Latin composition on a basis of profound ignorance, let me say that I studied Latin composition for six consecutive semesters in college, and I regard it as splendid and essential training for the future Latin teacher. But I heard a panel of experts at the University of Chicago, assembled by Lenore Geweke, argue convincingly that since very few high school students of Latin are going to be Latin teachers, for the majority the game of Latin composition simply is not worth the candle. The time and arduous effort expended upon composition would be better channeled into more and more reading. Let us remember the forthright pronouncement of the Classical Investigation Report: "The primary immediate objective of studying Latin is to read Latin." I notice that the 1954 textbook by De Witt and others, called *College Latin* and designed for students who start Latin in college, heavily stresses reading and completely omits composition. Composition can be taught at the higher levels in college for those who need it. Otherwise let us read, read, and read.

I have been devoting most of my attention to the outlook for Latin in the high schools, because I believe that most of you are either teaching Latin in high school, or else as college teachers you realize how closely connected the welfare of Latin in college is with its welfare in the secondary schools. But let me add a word about Latin in the grades and in college.

The Educational Press Association made a list of the ten most important educational events of 1953, and one of them was the recognition by educators of the importance of foreign languages in elementary schools. In the school year 1953-54 more than 145,000 American school children were studying foreign languages in the grades. Consid-

erable impetus was given to this movement by Earl McGrath when he was U.S. Commissioner for Education, at the time when he underwent his astounding conversion to the cause of the foreign languages. Further impetus has come from the testimony of neurologists that children learn languages most easily when they are five to ten years old, or certainly before the high-school age. The experience of Europe, where for centuries it has been the universal and universally successful custom to start the study of foreign languages in the grades, gives us solid assurance that we are not witnessing a foolish and transient fad. But the movement in the United States has up to now been limited to introducing the modern foreign languages in the grades. We Latinists have the duty to work in our States and communities to get Latin into the grades in friendly competition with the modern languages. In Europe Latin is not postponed until high school, any more than the modern languages are. What Europe does, we can do. It *can* happen here.

The prospects for the classics in the colleges would require a lengthy analysis, which I shall not undertake. Greek and Latin will continue to flourish in the Catholic institutions, and Greek does fairly well, sometimes very well, in strongly Protestant institutions such as Wheaton. Encouraging signs are the multiplication of fresh and good translations; the continuing and even intensified interest in classical mythology; the successful broadcasting of classical literature in Minnesota, Iowa, and Ohio; and the impressive support that we get from such admired and potent literary leaders as T. S. Eliot, Robert Frost, and W. H. Auden.

I am ready to close, and to close with an affirmation that the Atomic Age, upon which we have entered, will not abandon the classics. A swelling chorus of defence for the humanities is heard in our land, and I should like to quote just one voice from a high

source. When James Forrestal was Secretary of the Navy, he gave a speech to the Navy V-12 unit at Princeton, in which he said: "The liberal arts college must return, if our Navy experience is any index, to certain basic compulsory courses rather than allowing complete freedom of selection to its students. It must recover its ability to turn out men soundly trained in mathematics and sciences as well as in the broadening humanities. There may be some argument on this, but I would even like to see Greek and Latin restored to their ancient glory." So spoke a sincere patriot, a man who had no personal ax to grind. We do have powerful friends, men who advocate the study of the classics on grounds of patriotism.

Now on the Archives Building in Washington we read these words: "The past is prologue." Our American past, closely linked with Europe, definitely includes the brilliant prologue of the classical tradition. The future calls, not for a return to the past, but for a wise absorption of the best that we can find in the prologue. To discard some of the past is just as sensible as to throw out the bathwater, but we Latinists don't go along with the idea of throwing out the baby.

As this nation has advanced to the status of a mighty world power with international undertakings of vast scope and critical importance, it has increasingly become our profound obligation to know history and to understand other cultures, both present and past. Thus you are performing a patriotic service by teaching Latin and classical culture to Americans, and you should have courage and faith in the work which you are doing for our Republic. Say not the struggle naught availeth. In spite of metaphysics let us audaciously asseverate that the past will have a future. The classics will not only persevere; in God's own time they will prevail.

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The Classics in an Iron Age

(An address to the Language Teachers' Association, Auckland, N.Z.,
August 8, 1953)

IN THE INTRODUCTION to his little book *On medieval Europe*, H. W. C. Davis¹ speaks nostalgically of Golden Ages, those times of equilibrium in the affairs of men, "when institutions are stable and adapted to the needs of those who live under them; when the minds of men are filled with ideas which they find completely satisfying; when the statesman, the artist, and the poet feel that they are best fulfilling their several missions, if they express in deed and word, and language the aspirations common to the whole society."

I quote the sentence because the first point I have to make is that ours is no 'Golden Age. For good or ill we live in one of those more common eras of discontent and rebellion, when art and literature lose contact with society at large, and become the self-expression of a minority; when the ideals and traditions, the religion and philosophy of the days of stability and content, are rejected or under attack; when past values are questioned.

Hence the clash in such an era between archaist and futurist. I use the terms in Toynbee's² sense. Archaism and Futurism represent "two alternative attempts to substitute a mere transfer in the time dimension for that transfer of the field of action from one spiritual plane to another which is the characteristic movement of growth . . . The soul that has been daunted by finding that it is called on to play its part in life in the tragedy of social disintegration, still cannot repudiate all movement of aim or purpose, since that would mean committing outright spiritual suicide; so it seeks to "get by" through taking the easiest spiritual option open to it . . . Archaism places in the City of Cecrops the treasure that it withdraws from the city of Pericles,

while Futurism withdraws its treasure from the same City of Pericles in order to place it in the City of the Sun."

In an age of challenged values, the live mind and ardent spirit is called upon to choose between the twain. Hence the dichotomy of Left and Right, and the clash of social gospels of those who are certain, like Aristophanes and Cicero, that good lies with the men who fought the Mede or Hannibal, and of those whose aim is Plato's, "to pull down the sorry sum of things entire," and to rebuild it, if not "closer to the heart's desire," at least according to plans and specifications which take little account of past achievement.

The Classicist is frankly an archaist. He sees only danger in the tearing up of ancient roots. He prefers to feed them and allow the tree, nourished safely from old springs, to adapt branch and leaf to the thrust of new breezes, and the changed climate of the world. His aim is the retention of old values, revitalised to be sure, but full of their old content of tried and tested worth. Like the wise preacher of an old faith, he accepts his part in the new age, speaks its language, and looks its problems in the face, but claims with Paul of Tarsus, himself the heir of two cultures and the herald of a third, that "the foundation is laid already and no man can lay another. . . ."³

AENEAS AND THE STEAM ENGINE

SUCH HIGH THEORY, no doubt, seems a trifle remote from the practical problems of the school syllabus, and the piecemeal attack on the Classics which meets the teacher of Latin in his day-to-day experience. It is relevant none the less. The New Education has a favourite catch phrase: "We teach not subjects but children." The words are of course a woeful piece of illogicality, and a not unfamiliar cover for

confused thinking, but one can see what the pundits mean. They mean that the good of the taught is supreme, and that is a truism. We who teach must be held responsible for the time and character, the mind and heart, of Ginger Meggs and the Third Form at St. Trinians.

Where we classicists part company with the slogan-vendors is that we are certain that the responsibility which lies upon us involves teaching something clear-cut in its content; it involves the impartation of knowledge, and we find no knowledge more worthwhile than that which sets humanity before us, its ancient struggles, its instruments of speech and language, and the sifted gold of its choicest thought and most polished eloquence.

I cannot lay my hand on the passage, but Herbert Spenser somewhere complains pontifically that "boys know all about 'pius Aeneas,' but have no notion of how a street-car runs." (Or was it a steam engine?) That, precisely, is the delusion we deplore. Aeneas represents a human principle, courage and faith at odds with circumstance, the valour of man called to serve a brighter future, the fruitfulness of sacrifice, and the values which build nations. Of the two, Aeneas and the steam engine, one provides the stuff of education, the other calls for an imparted skill which anyone can at need acquire. The steam-engine demands no doubt its engineer, and its smooth functioning is related to my comfort and my bread, but while man lives by more than bread alone, my choice is Aeneas for the class-room. Cultivate the mind and human awareness, and the future of both engine and engineer is safe.

Aeneas, of course, Vergil's epic and its significance, are not the Latin Sylabus. I use the dour hero as a mere symbol of one value in the Classics. There are other fruits of Latin in the schools more easily culled, and more rapidly brought to something like maturity.

AWARENESS OF LANGUAGE

THE FIRST is awareness of language. It is no accident that the assault on the Classics has gone on side by side with the modern attack on the values of language. Advertising and propaganda have done immense damage to human thinking, and their evil has been done by way of a debasing and a cheapening of words.

There are three popular delusions among the linguistically uneducated. They are these: first that words are stable, and contain a measure of meaning which does not vary with the mental content and outlook of those that use them, from century to century, or place to place; the second is that other peoples think and express themselves precisely as we do; the third is that one language can be easily translated into another.

The slightest acquaintance with a language remote from our own shatters such folly to the blessing of man. Consider the three faults I have alleged in order, and in relation to the Latin class. The youngest child who faces the fact that he cannot, in all contexts, translate *virtus* by virtue, and *modestia* by modesty, has been made usefully aware of certain ethical attitudes of a people who once ruled the world and made a contribution to our way of life, and has received a useful lesson in the history of human thought. Above all, he has noticed the instability of words, and the more so if he has faced *virtus* and *modestia* in varied contexts, and has been shown how differently Terence and St. Augustine may have employed the same collocation of sounds and letters.

Under the second head note what a wise teacher might make out of the Latin perfect, the "deponent" verb, and the subjunctive. The Roman willingness to fuse two tenses, and two notions of past time which Greek kept meticulously distinct, is a sharp reminder of a truth abundantly illustrated by the tense-systems of many languages, the truth that peoples think

very differently of relative time. Then the middle verb, so deplorably misnamed "deponent," and the Roman predilection for the subjunctive, how useful a text both provide for the exposition of a subjectivity in language which is not common in English. If young people can be made early aware of the vast variety of mankind's intellectual attitudes, a most salutary and needed truth has been imparted, and a contribution made to man's understanding of man.

The fine critical and rhetorical exercise involved in translation either way will destroy the third illusion, and inculcate an outlook useful in all spheres of life. Wisely used, the translation class can build up a respect for exactitude of expression, and a healthy suspicion of verbosity which can both aid science and philosophy, and play a part in the conservation of democracy. And I suggest that few languages are as efficient a tool as Latin for this most necessary instruction. It is a language which cuts its thought in high relief, and beyond all Sparta triumphs in its clear brevity.

AWARENESS OF HUMANITY

THIS RUNS naturally to, indeed, overlaps my next point. If language is the medium of human thought, and man is what he thinks⁴, the study of language is forthwith Pope's prescribed book.⁵ The nature of man is in his words. *Claudite iam riuos, pueri, sat prata biberunt*, says the foreman in Vergil⁶ and opens up the discouraging etymology of *riualis*. And consider how embedded in its words is the spirit of a people. Over the Spartan Three Hundred at Thermopylae, Simonides wrote his famous epitaph:

Go, stranger, and to Lacedaemon tell
That here, obeying her behest, we fell.⁷

Cicero translated this into solid Latin: *dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic uidisse iacentis, dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.*⁸

"Into solid Roman," one might almost say. "Persuaded by their sayings" of Simonides' Greek, becomes "follow-

ing their laws" in the Latin, and law contains the notion of that which binds or obliges. Flattering though Simonides might have been to totalitarian Sparta, his words contained the individualism of the Greek, the attitude of free men, each persuaded by the clear word of the best of his kind, and dying open-eyed in loyalty to an ideal. In the Latin is the majesty of law, the tramp of the legions, and the attitude of those whose part it is not to reason why when authority speaks. Our way of life has drawn the best from both.

Rome gets into her Latin. You will remember, perhaps a purple passage in Mackail:⁹

The opening words of Scipio's narrative, *Cum in Africam uenisssem, Manio Manilio consuli ad quartam legionem tribunus*, come on the ear like the throb of a great organ; and here and there through the piece come astonishing phrases of the same organ-music: *Ostendebat autem Karthaginem de excelso et pleno stellarum iuusti et claro quodam loco . . . Quis in reliquis orientis aut obueniis solis, ultimis aut aquilonis austri partibus, tuum nomen audiet? . . . Deum te igitur scito esse, siquidem deus est, qui uiget, qui sentit, qui meminit, qui prouidet* — hardly from the lips of Vergil himself does the noble Latin speech issue with a purer or a more majestic flow.

One turns inevitably to Vergil after such a hint, and reads:

*Quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? tu Maximus ille es,
Vnus qui nobis cunctando restituisti.
Excedunt alii spirantia mollius aera.
Credo equidem, uiuos ducent de marmore uultus;
Orabunt causas melius, coetique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hae tibi erunt artes: pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos.*

The words bring the Roman very close to us, and contain the very spirit of his empire and the Pax Romana, at their rare best.

Is this all beyond and above the Third Form? I think not. I remember with some vividness the little blue book called *The Invasion of Britain* in which I first read Caesar. It was in the corner room of the old Auckland Grammar School, dim from the shade of the great pines across Mountain Road. It was only simplified Caesar, but it opened a world of thought and understanding to my young mind. I had long since learned of 55 B.C., and rather pictured myself woad-stained with the Britons in

the surf. Now came a word from the invader, or what I thought were his authentic words, and they were good enough as a picture of the tense mind and cool courage across in Gaul. *Iam exigua pars aestatis reliqua fuit. Caesar tamen in Britanniam proficisci statuit.* I caught the same mood of understanding 35 years later when I stood on a snowy day on the Wall of Hadrian at Boscovicium and looked at the steely sky and the desolate tarns in the bleak moor below the crags, and captured it all with a word which rose like a ghost from that same distant classroom:

*Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
Arbor aestiva recreatur aura,
Quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
Jupiter urget . . .¹¹*

The sweep of empire is somehow in the words of that confident little ode, and like many another passage of Latin from Plautus to Justinian it has enriched my understanding of the foundations on which we stand. And this, I insist, is not a starry mysticism experienced by one of necessity steeped in Roman literature, but a living reality, which makes nonsense of all talk of "dead" languages, a reality which the tiro can touch and feel, if his mind is alive, and his teacher Socratic¹² in method and approach.

AWARENESS OF THE PAST

THIS IS WHY the study of the classical languages is a tool by which to shape and mould an awareness of the past. The Futurist scorns the past, the Archivist finds it full of significance and inspiration. The latter attitude contains the greater measure of truth. It is no doubt possible to live ignorant of the book of history, and guess from its current chapters the trend of events which went before, but socially the process is perilous in the extreme. Our civilisation is rooted in the culture of Palestine, Greece, and Rome. To be cabined and confined, bottled if you will, in one's own century, is to lose all illuminating perspective, to lose the healthful

faculty of seeing the present in its proper light, to lack criteria for important judgments, and essential critical equipment.

And this is true of literature, as it is true of philosophy, and politics. I cannot see how the literature of Europe can be appreciated, or even understood without a knowledge of its source and inspiration. The classical literatures too, sorted and sifted by the ruthless criticism of time, provide norms and standards which steady the judgment in an age which talks too much, writes too much, and consistently mistakes novelty for excellence, and petulant revolt for progress.

But this is too vast a subject to pursue. Can a boy or girl, the practically-minded teacher might a trifle impatiently ask, hampered by the modern craze for packing the syllabus with scraps from a dozen subjects, hope in the brief hours of a secondary school course, to make intimate acquaintance with the greatness hidden in a remote and difficult tongue? I can only reply that, through all my clumsy construing, the greatness of Vergil broke upon me as a fifth-form boy. A portion of the Fourth Georgic brought him to life, and the warmth of the experience lives with me still.

"LEST ONE GOOD CUSTOM . . ."

LET US, in a final word, come to terms with the present situation. Neither Latin nor Greek, be it freely admitted, can be taught to-day as they were taught a century ago. The Classics must meet the challenge of the modern world. This is as it should be. Some verses from Tennyson run in my mind:

*And slowly answered Arthur from the barge:
"The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."¹³*

Change, in balder prose, is inevitable, and for the good of institutions. Change can kill, and in the economy of Nature it is designed to remove that which clutters the ground and hinders true development. Change tests vital-

NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 124 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

Vitiorum Imitatio — Tacitus on Petronius

THE WELL-KNOWN passages in the sixteenth book of Tacitus' *Annales* (17; 18; 19) in which the character and death of a Petronius Arbiter are described, have been thoroughly scrutinized by scholars for the last three centuries, since this locus is of crucial importance in determining whether the Tacitean Petronius is identical with the author of the *Satyricon*.

With some notable exceptions,¹ the majority of critics agree that this character sketch reveals a personality thoroughly compatible with that of the writer of the *Satyricon*; but they have always been bothered by Tacitus' failure to mention any literary activity of his Petronius.² It was formerly believed by some scholars³ that the enumeration of Nero's debauches, together with a list of his accomplices in vice, which Petronius sent to the emperor as a last

gesture of defiance, may have been the *Satyricon*. However, this view has now been rightly abandoned — for reasons that do not concern us here: that document was a letter, but not a literary work.

It has been argued that Tacitus omitted mention of Petronius as a writer because he was concerned here only with political intrigue; but this is not convincing, since Tacitus in similar contexts does mention the literary activities of Seneca and Lucan. Another explanation offered is that the character of Petronius' work may have been repugnant to Tacitus, the severe moralist; but we cannot see the force of this argument. He mentions vice and crime so often that we cannot believe that the lasciviousness of the *Satyricon* would have prevented him from at least alluding to the writings of Petronius.

ity, and its experience can be transformed and rendered fertile.

The future of Classics, therefore, depends much upon its teachers. There must be no defeatism. The mass of new interpretative literature on ancient writers, which fills the shelves in any well-stocked library, is itself indication enough that able minds are still at work on the old material, and making rich, new discoveries. Teachers must move with them, extend their reading, relate their subject to life around them, and adapt method of these ends. The modern approach to grammar has transformed the old dry spadework into a subject of human interest, many modern school editions have filled the old class-room texts with fresh interest for young people, a thousand teaching aids have brightened tuition, and

brought it into touch with history, geography, and archaeology.

Given freedom to develop, classical studies, and that means in this country chiefly Latin, can prove their worth in the terms of all those values by which such worth is measured. Gide once remarked: "Toute l'éducation des enfants devrait tendre à élever l'esprit de ceux-ci des intérêts matériels." If the words are true Latin is worth while — and especially in an Iron Age.

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NOTES

- 1 *Medieval Europe*, Home University Library, 7.
- 2 *The Study of History*, V 383, 384; VI 48-9.
- 3 Ep. to Cor. 3:11 (Toynbee's fashion, I fear, of partial quotation.)

- 4 *Prov.* 23:7.
- 5 *Essay on Man*, Ep. 2:2.
- 6 *Ecl.* 3:111.
- 7 *Her.* 7:228.
- 8 *Tusc.* I:42:101.
- 9 *Lat. Lit.* 71.
- 10 *Aen.* 6.847-54.
- 11 *Hor. Od.* I:22:17-20.
- 12 *Theaet.* 151C.
- 13 *Morte d'Arthur* (fn.).

It is our contention that Tacitus did in fact make a clear allusion to the work of Petronius — clear, that is, if we consider the well-known obliqueness of an author who, literally, would not call a spade a spade and who so frequently achieves his effect by indirection and allusion.

The critical passage occurs in Chapter 18: *dein revolutus ad vitia, seu vitiorum imitatione, inter paucos familiares Neroni adsumptus est.* All translators render this phrase somewhat like J. Jackson:⁴ "Then came the revulsion: his genuine or affected vices won him admittance into the narrow circle of Nero's intimates." Ernout⁵ translates: "Puis retourné aux vices, ou à l'imitation ca'culée des vices," etc. *Vitiorum imitatione* is thus taken to mean "affected" or "pretended" vices. But in the first place it is difficult to see how vice can be pretended: virtue may certainly be counterfeited, but hardly a dissolute way of life. Besides, a few sentences earlier, in the same chapter, Tacitus states expressly that Petronius passed his days in sleep and his nights in *oblectamentis*—surely too mild a term for vice—and stresses that Petronius was not a debauchee and profligate: *habebaturque non ganeo et profligator, ut plerique sua haurientium, sed eruditio luxu.*

Hence, the only *vitia* he resumed after efficiently discharging his official duties as governor of Bithynia and as consul were his habit of turning night into day, and the exquisite luxury which, Tacitus points out, did not exceed his means. *Vitia*, then, in the phrase *revolutus ad vitia*, cannot have the force of "vice" but ought to have the milder significance of "failing" (which it has so often in Cicero and Quintilian).

Did he, then, "imitate" the vices of others? Nothing is less credible in this Arbiter of Elegance. It was he who set the tone and example. Tacitus does not say that Petronius imitated the vices of Nero;⁶ indeed, his last gesture was disapproval.

If we re-examine the crucial sentence, we now see the reason for a syntactic break — *revolutus ad vitia, seu vitiorum imitatione*, when we would have expected the accusative *imitationem*. The reason is that the word *vitia* carries two different shades of meaning—"defect" or "fault" in the first place, "vice" in the second. And since we have seen that *origina'ity*, not imitation, was the elegant courtier's qualification for the *haut monde*, *imitatio* here must have the force of "artistic representation."

Instances of this usage are given in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* s.v. *imitatio* II: *de exemplari arte quadam formando, exprimendo*, and s.v. *imitor* B: *effingere, exprimere*, specifically *scribendo*; similarly *imitamen* and *imitamentum* = *imago, effigies*. We may compare this with the frequent use in the same sense by Aristotle of *mimesis, mimeisthai*, and *mimema* in Plato.

We would then find this passage to be a typically Tacitean allusion to the *Satyricon*, of which *vitiorum imitatione* is an excellent description, and we would translate as follows: "He was admitted into the small circle of Nero's intimates by reason of his delineation of vice . . ." these vices being the erotic escapades of Encolpius and his friends as well as the mores and general bad taste of the liberti class which Nero, with memories of Pallas, Narcissus and other favorites of Claudius, detested heartily and must have been amused to see satirized.

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De Sermone Cotidiano

(Read before ACL, Oxford, Ohio, June 1954)

AS I HAVE THE PRIVILEGE of choosing my topic, I have chosen to speak *de sermone cotidiano*. Unfortunately most of our study of the Latin tongue and letters is restricted to the most formal discourse, namely Cicero's speeches and Caesar's Commentaries, which no more reflect the language of every day life than do Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America or Churchill's magnificent commentaries on the conduct of the late war reflect everyday English as spoken in either England or America.

Granted that Cicero's and Caesar's language represents the best Latin, the Latin that we should like to instill into our pupils, I doubt not that these works give the impression that that was the only manner of speech used by the Romans and the pupils are appalled. They never realize that the Romans talked of everyday matters in a casual and artless fashion, *incondite*.

If we are to represent Latin as a living vehicle of speech, we should adapt the reading matter to the children's age and taste, gradually leading them on to better and weightier matter. This may be like tying a bunch of luscious carrots in front of a recalcitrant donkey's nose. If, however, the donkey moves, the driver is happy. Therefore, if we induce the youngsters through delight and curiosity to read, why should we not be happy? We can then hope that the interest thus aroused will lead them to the best Latin, as we hope that in English they will graduate from Mother Goose and fairy stories — let's not mention Comics — to our best literature.

I do not propose bad Latin — by no means. There are good tales, written in good Latin. If there be good tales written in bad Latin, it will be no sin, if a competent Latinist recast them in good Latin. That is not comparable to recasting Cicero or Caesar, who, when

that is done, disappear and as they disappear so disappears the goal sought and the reason for offering their reputed works.

But as to daily Latin, not even Cicero spoke to his friends or at home in such language. Does any one for a moment believe that if young Marcus started to be annoying as only a small boy can be, papa Marcus turned to him and said in his best oratorical manner, "*Quousque tandem abutere, Marce Tulli, Marci fili, patientia nostra?*" Did he, can you not see on young Marcus' face a look of utter stupefaction, who would then have mumbled: "*Hercole, cerritus iam'st Tata,*" or, "Gee, poor daddy's nuts." No, Papa Marcus would probably have said: "*Improbissime rerum, molestus mihi's. Nisi mihi auscultes, recte vapulabis,* or: Naughty boy, if you don't mind, you'll get a good spanking."

Well, where do we find the expressions of the *sermo plebeius* and the *sermo cotidianus*? In the classical period writing materials were expensive and consequently serious matters generally were treated. If lighter stories were written, they have disappeared or were in later times not thought worth preservation. Probably most children's stories were transmitted by word of mouth. However the language of daily life is not wholly lost to us, for Cicero's letters to his intimate friends contain many colloquial phrases, and Plautus is a mine of such phrases. Many are also to be found in Horace and of course Petronius is full of them, although in using him I think we must be circumspect lest we include some Neapolitan slang.

Now some people ask: Is it true that there is no word in Latin for "thank you"? Well, that is true as to any one word, but there many ways to say 'thanks', for the Romans did say 'thanks'. Cicero, you remember, said:

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nullum officium referenda gratia magis necessarium est. Of course, we are all aware of *gratias agere*, to which is usually added *maximas plurimasque*. But, if somebody hand you a cigarette, however much you had longed for it, it would be a bit extravagant to say, "I extend to you my deepest and heartiest thanks." So in Latin, *Gratias ago maximas plurimasque*. We say "Oh, thanks!" in Latin *benigne* or *benigne tu quidem!* Quite sufficient. Once when Plancus wished to express to Cicero his undying thanks, he did it very neatly by saying: "*Immortalis ago tibi gratias, agamque, dum vivam.*" He really was grateful for some great favor, but Cicero in writing Atticus who had seemingly succeeded in collecting from Numerius a small sum of money, said, "*De raudusculo Numeriano multum te amo.*" By the diminutive he does not depreciate Atticus' labors in his behalf, but: "For that bit of a debt that you collected from Numerius thanks a lot!"

At another time he writes Atticus, "*De libro quem misisti multum te amamus.*" But sometimes one must say "No, thanks." As in French: *merci*, and in German, *ich danke*, serve for both: "thanks" and "no, thanks," so in Latin *benigne*. In Plautus' Menaechmi, 2.3.36 we find an extremely colloquial, "no, thanks." Erotium bids one of the twins to dinner: "*Eamus intro ut prandeamus.*" Menaechmus answers: "*Bene vocas: tam gratia'st.*" "It's kind of you to ask me, but no, thanks."

There is also: *audes?* or *auden?* This is found in the imperative in *Aeneid*, 8.364, where Evander bids Aeneas enter his humble dwelling:

*Aude, Hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
Finge Deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis.*

This, of course, is usually translated: 'dare,' but what was so daring in enter the dwelling? I think it should be translated: "Prithee, wealth contemn etc." It thus retains the original meaning of the root.

Therefore, as someone may give you

an automobile or pass you the water, one should gauge the expression of thanks.

People are also surprised that there are no words in Latin for 'Yes' and 'No.' Aye, 'tis true of those words as for thanking. Yes, that word now used on the radio as an affirmative of nothing in particular finds itself expressed in Latin in multifarious ways. Among the common words are, of course, *ita*, *ita vero*, *etiam*, *sane*, *plane*, *maxime*, as each may be suitable. Then there is the repetition of the word. "*Visne ire?*" "*Sane volo*," or "*Emistine vinum?*" "*Emi sane*," or "*Numquid processit ad forum hodie novi?*" "*Etiam. Quid tandem?*" etc. Then there is *immo*, a rather ticklish word in some uses but frequently by contradiction a strong affirmative, as: *senatus haec intelligit, consul videt: hic tamen vivit. Vivit? Immo vero etiam in senatum venit.* He lives? Why, yes, he even comes into the senate. In Plautus "*Nisi quid magis es occupatus, operam nimis da.*" Answer "*Maxime.*"

Then comes 'no'. How many ways there are of expressing dissent! all the way from a disinterested 'no' to a 'no' so emphatically expressed as to rock you back on your heels — "*Estne bonus?*" "*Non est, immo vero improbissimus.*" Then there are *haudquam, minime, nullo modo, nullo pacto, minime gentium.* There is the colloquial *nunquam hodie*, found in Vergil.

Who then can aver that there are in Latin no words for 'Yes', 'No', 'Thanks'?

But what of 'please'? Well, there is the less elegant *sodes*, and the less inelegant *sis*, and in the plural *sultis*. "Tell me, please," "*fac, sis, sciam.*" More elegant, *amabo*, which seems to be used only in the first person singular and only with the singular pronoun. "Please cross over," "*Amabo ut transseas;*" "Please don't," "*Amabo te ne id facias.*" There is also: *quaeso* and, I judge most formal, *obsecro*. "If you please;" "*si lubet.*"

Suave is a good word to cultivate for less formal discourse or writing. You undoubtedly remember how that curmudgeon and arch-parvenu Trimachio greeted his waiting guests, a sorry group of runagates themselves. He was borne in on a litter to music, propped up on a lot of tiny pillows. The sight caused a laugh on the part of his surprised guests. His shaven pate was thrust out of a scarlet cloak and about his neck laden with clothing he had donned a neckerchief with a broad purple stripe from which on either side hung fringes; on his left little finger an enormous ring gilded (subauratum) and on the last joint of the next finger a smaller one, apparently, all gold fastened together in some way with iron stars. Moreover, not content with this show of wealth, he had his right upper arm bare, with a golden band and attached to it some kind of ebony hoop with a gold plate. He must have been a sight at which a more cultured group might have found difficulty in restraining laughter. To add to all this elegance he was picking his teeth with a silver pick. His greeting was: "Amici, nondum mihi *suave* erat in triclinium venire." My friends, I did not wish to come to the dining room just yet. He then goes on to state that he had come simply out of courtesy, but please let him go on with his game of dice. But we are speaking of *suave*. It is equivalent to our word 'nice'. "It was nice (or I was glad) to get your letter", "Suave fuit litteras accipere tuas."

Now a word as to greetings. Of course we all know *ave* and *salve*, and for good-bye *vale*. I used to address my small daughters thus. One morning a maid greeted one of them, 'Vale!' She responded, 'We don't say that now; you ought to say *ave!*' The answer to such a greeting is: *ave*, or *salve et tu*. But no Roman would have been satisfied with but one form. A somewhat warmer form is found in: *valesne?* or *valetisne?* more colloquially: *valen* or *valetin?* Another greeting of this type

is: "Ut *vales?*" "How are you?" not just *Hi!* The answer to that is "*Equidem valeo recte et salvus sum.*" "Everything O.K?" "*Satin' salve omnia?*" and the answer *Amice rogas! Omnia salve, or omnia recte.*"

In leaving, besides *vale*, one adds "Take it easy;" "*Bene ambulato*," or, "*Ambula clementer*," or, "*I secundo omne*," or, "*Otiosus esto*," or, "*Requiesce clementer*."

But mayhap you do not wish to leave too abruptly, so ask, "Anything else before I go?" to which the answer "Nothing at all, good luck." "*Numquid me vis?*" Answer "*Ut bene sit tibi*, or, "*Numquid me voltis?*" Answer "*Tantum'st. Valete.*" "That's all. So long."

By the way, you all notice that this talk is all typewritten. If I had not done that and somebody had occasion to look at my hand written sheets, he would probably have thrown them down in disgust and remarked with Plautus, "*Gallina haec scripsit*," "These are nothing but hen-tracks;" but in that matter we are, I guess, all in the same boat or, as Cicero once wrote to Curio, "*In eadem navi sumus omnes.*"

There are a few locutions that are troublesome and are seldom treated with much elaboration in grammars or even in books on composition; which, alas, today are but too seldom in use. One of these is 'without'. Of course we are acquainted with *sine*, *carere* and *expertem esse*. Without difficulty, *sine ulla difficultate*. We are without bread, *pane caremus*. He is without culture, *est humanitatis expers*. The difficulty is to express "without" with the verbal noun. Varro uses *sine* once with the gerund but I believe in a somewhat different sense. I have no doubt but that in vulgar Latin *sine* was regularly used with the infinitive or gerund. How otherwise would we find such a use in Italian and French? But we have no examples, so far as I am aware, in Latin. In good Latin the goal is attained by use of the ablative absolute; sometimes by a result clause, *ut . . . non*; sometimes by *quin* and the sub-

junctive. E. g., without breach of law, *salva lege*; without any soldiers being wounded, *nullis militibus vulneratis*; carry on my affairs without waiting to hear from me, *ita nostra gerito ut nihil a me exspectes*. Hardly a moment intervened without their sending ambassadors across the Rhine, *nullum fere tempus intermisserunt quin trans Rhenum legatos mitterent*.

Then our "almost", "all but", "nearly", "likely", "within an ace of . . .," etc. are another stumbling block. There are the usual *prope*, and *paene*, but just as "I was almost killed" has not the force of "I came within an ace of being killed," so "*paene occisus sum*" has not the force of "*propius nihil est factum quam ut occiderer*" or "*tantum non occisus sum*." "When the mantlets had been brought almost to the walls" appears as: "*cum vineae tantum non iam iniunctae moenibus essent*."

Alas, I have diverged, I fear, too far from my goal of proving that Latin is not the stiff formal tongue that it is held to be; so I shall try to clinch my argument with some apt examples. When I was in college and reading the lyric poets, we came to the line: *Turba mihi's* — I have been unable to find the reference. The professor said, I can't see any compliment in calling his girl 'a crowd'. I was just then engaged and in the right frame of mind to translate that passage, so I asked: "Don't you suppose that was the way the Romans said: 'Thou art all the world to me?' As we say, when we are clumsy, 'I'm all thumbs;' so Cicero said of such an one, *pollex fuit, non index.*'"

When one of Petronius' characters wished to tell another that he did not belong to their group or that he did not wear the old school tie, he said, "*Non es nostrae fasciae.*" Once when Cicero said he was saving up some windfalls for a rainy day, he wrote: "*Omnis meas vindemiolas eo reservo,*" and at another time he was annoyed at some one because he excused himself on the pretext of a previous engagement, *Caussam ante susceptam excusavit.*"

When the Roman housewife did not wish to do the dishes, she heaped them up in a pile: *strues concinnavit patinarias*.

But when a Roman lad went out with his lass who was "hot stuff", "*quae in cendia movebat*", or, "*quae habebat quicquid in orbe fuit*", it surely was when his money was burning holes in his pocket: *cum nummi lymphatici essent*. What else would the poor lad do, since he had a date with her, *cum ad eam promisisset*, and she was all dressed up, *cum nitido notabilis habitu esset* and had gotten a permanent: *cum capillos vibrandos curasset*? It was probably quite a big party and the next pay-day was some time away, so that he was the chap of whom Cicero reported, "I never saw a man so utterly distraught," "*Hominem non vidi sed scopas solutas*—an untied broom! a rather apt description. Our poor lad, you see, was dead broke, *ei hau nummo amplius restabat*. Certainly, since she was a nice girl, even if too given to a love of clothes, *vestitui nimio indulget*, his distress could not have been due to a hangover, *crapulae gravedines*.

But now that we have mentioned *gravedo*, that word generally means a cold, a very apt term; for when does one feel heavier than when suffering from a cold- or a hangover? If you have a cold, *gravedina laboras*. If I am catching cold, *perfrigesco* and if I am subject to colds, *gravedinosus sum*. If it is a really bad one and runny, *gravedo profluit*. In that case, you must look after it—sounds in either language as though you were fond of it, *isti gravedini subvenias oportet*, until you get over it, *donec sedetur*.

But let us turn to the home for a few minutes. *Scalas escendamus*. You see the beds must be made, *sternendi sunt lectuli*, or to use Erasmus' phrase, *concinnandi*. For that purpose we need coverlets and blankets, *stragula et lodices*. Oh dear, they must be brought up stairs, *Di meliora, haec omnia contra tot scalas ferenda sunt*. He lives on the

fourth floor, *tribus scalis habitat*, and the trouble is he is confined to his bed, and can't get up, *lectulo tenetur unde surgere non potest*. Humph, you are too easy on him, he'd get up, if he were not too lazy, *Proh fatuam tractationem! piger est. Si eum tam delicatum habes, nunquam e lectulo surget*.

Let us look now at a few phrases in order to see how close to the English the comparative Latin phrases were. Cicero writes Atticus from Cilicia that the soldiers had a Merry Christmas, *hilara Saturnalia*. Certainly there was no doubt that he wished them to have a good time, *minime dubium erat quin eos animo indulgere et dulcia carpere vellet*.

In Plautus' *Poenulus* Milphio tells Agorastocles that his flattery is a lot of apple-sauce: *Tuae blanditiae mihi sunt, quod dici solet, gerrae germanae et liroe liroe*. Once in writing Atticus Cicero admits that he was a perfect ass, *scio me asinum germanum fuisse* and he writes at another time to Tiro that he knows that Tiro will be a great booster of his reputation, *te buccinatorem fore existimationis meae*, and at another time he says the Senate was perfect'y divine in denying the honors, *divinus Senatus fuit in supplicatione deneganda*. Somebody might have disagreed with his judgement and wished to retort: "Oh, yeah?" "Ain' vero?"

Livy speaks of a rocking chair admiral, one of those chaps who from the front porch knows just what the captain in an emergency should do or should have done, *gubernator e terra*.

Now just a word about the structure of the sentence. Must, for instance, the verb always be at the sentence's end? By no means! That was a trick of Caesar's, although there was a tendency so to place it. It was, however, not inevitable. In Cicero it seems to have been ever a question of emphasis and of rhythm whether the adjective preceded or followed the noun and whether the verb appeared at the end of the sentence or elsewhere. Take, for instance; *quousque tandem, abutere, Catalina*

alina, patientia nostra? Suppose that he had said: *quousque tandem, Catalina, patientia nostra abutere?* It would have fallen flat, or in his words *perisset*. In his *Orator* he discusses the rhythm of *clausulae*. He says that this sentence: *Patris dictum sapiens temeritas filii comprobavit*, because of its rhythm excited a remarkable shout from the audience. He says further: "Change the order, speak thus, 'Patris dictum sapiens comprobavit filii temeritas', now it is nothing," notwithstanding that Aristotle, with whom he disagrees, approves such rhythm. I think that we must agree with Cicero. Here the verb ends the sentence but Cicero as much as says, for the sake of the rhythm. I suggest that in this matter a comparison of Cicero's writings, both formal and informal, and Caesar's be made, in order to disabuse students of the idea that Latin is a stiff and rigid tongue instead of a very flexible and expressive means of conversation.

Now to add a few snappy phrases, without trying to cover the whole field of everyday conversation. I wonder how many Roman parents came to their son in the morning, after the lad had come in late and said, "Surge, Fili, tempus est surgendi!" and heard the response, "Di meliora! Non tam mane?" Not so early? "Atqui surge, haud decet totum mane edormire."

How often do children think that teachers have eyes in the back of their heads? *Oculos in occipito habere*.

When a Roman stirred up a hornets' nest, *crabrones irritavit*; when he made a mountain out of a molehill, *flumina e rivo fecit*; when he hit the nail on the head, *rem acu tetigit*. Whoever was very thin, *ossa et pellis erat*. If two Romans were interested in the same things, *eisdem studiis tenebantur*.

Quanquam plura sunt quae dicere possem, iam tandem satis dixi. Manum de tabula tollam. So here's to you and that's that; *bene vos et definitum'st.*

Dixi et valete.

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ROMAN AND RUSSIAN MOTHERS-IN-LAW

THE MAIN PURPOSE of this note is to compare Ostrovskii's play *The Storm* with Terence's *Hecyra*. Although Aleksandr Nikolayevich Ostrovskii is honored as the founder of the Russian theater of the nineteenth century, his work is much less well known in this country than that of Anton Pavlovich Chekhov. Ostrovskii had already written some forty-eight plays between 1847 and his death in 1886, before Chekhov wrote his first play in 1886.

A large number of Ostrovskii's plays ridicule the vices of the merchant class of Russian society—stinginess, drunkenness, conceit, excessive ambition, superstitiousness, and hypocrisy. Since both Ostrovskii and his father worked as government clerks and his father had a kind of law practice among the merchant class, the dramatist could draw from abundant personal experience. However, because Ostrovskii studied in the Moscow government gymnasium, where both Latin and Greek were taught, and because knowledge of both of these languages was required for entrance into the juridical faculty of Moscow University, which he left in 1849 before completing the course, and because he himself wrote translations of at least two Latin comedies, it is natural to inquire whether his satires show any influence from Greek and Latin authors.

A. I. Malein, in an article entitled "Ostrovskii and Ancient Comedy,"¹ has noted that in Ostrovskii's play *Guilty Without Fault (Bez Viny Vinovatye)* the recognition by the mother of her illegitimate son, from whom she has long been separated, by means of a gold medallion which he wore on his neck, follows a familiar ancient motif, seen, for example, in Euripides' *Ion* and in Menander's *Arbitration*. The citing of such resemblances, incidentally, provokes strong indignation among con-

temporary Soviet critics, whose determination to believe in the complete originality of Russian thought is often amusing. Thus A. Revyakin, commenting on Malein's parallel,² insists that Ostrovskii is not indebted to anyone for the idea or composition of his play, and that in any case it is incomparably superior! This is an especially bold claim, in view of similarities of this play also to *Le Fils naturel* of Alexandre Dumas Fils and to Karl Gutzkow's *Richard Savage*.

Ostrovskii first mentions his interest in Plautus in a personal letter written in July 1850.³ Additional references inform us that he prepared a prose translation of Plautus' *Asinaria*,⁴ but that he failed to finish it in time for the scheduled publication, with the result that it is preserved only in manuscript. He also wrote a play in verse about this time entitled "*Alexander of Macedon*," which has not survived. Anxiety concerning expenses expressed in these letters indicates that he hoped to earn money by these plays.

In December 1858 Ostrovskii began a translation of Terence's *Hecyra*. We have no record of its publication during the author's life, but an edition, carefully annotated by A. I. Malein, appeared in a collection of essays dedicated to the memory of Ostrovskii in 1923. Malein collated the translation with the Latin text, and pointed out a number of minor inaccuracies and omissions. He also noted that the Russian word for mother-in-law, *svekrov'* is related to the Greek *hekura*, transliterated into Latin as *hecyra*. One should include in this group the Latin *socer* and *socrus*, and it is tempting to divide the word into a stem for blood (Russian *krov'*, Latin *cruor*) and a reflexive possessive adjective.

In the next year after making this translation, Ostrovskii wrote *The Storm*

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(*Groza*), which has become one of his most famous plays. Although I have never seen any suggestion that *The Storm* owes anything to Terence's *Hecyra*, this may be explained by the fact that Soviet criticism would be hostile to such an idea. Examination of the Russian play does in fact reveal some interesting points of comparison.

For readers not acquainted with *The Storm* its plot can be summarized as follows. A rich widow, Madame Kabanova, rules her son Tikhon, daughter Barbara, and daughter-in-law Katerina tyrannically. The son submits passively, but periodically leaves town on solitary journeys for dissipation. The daughter resists silently, casually enjoying the company of admirers when she can slip away from the house. The daughter-in-law is tortured by incessant insults from Madame Kabanova, dissatisfied with the weakness of her husband Tikhon, and ashamed of her longing to find love and happiness elsewhere, which would of course be sinful. A merchant in the town, Dikoi (i.e. Mr. "Savage"), also tyrannizes over his household, which includes a nephew Boris, who is driven by boredom and discontent to seek diversion in love and has developed an attraction for Katerina. The departure of Tikhon gives Katerina an opportunity to yield to Barbara's urging that she indulge her feelings, and for ten nights she permits Boris to court her secretly. When her husband returns, Katerina, oppressed by a sense of guilt and impending doom, symbolized by a thunderstorm from which she and the townspeople take refuge in a ruined building containing a mural painting of Hell, confesses her unfaithfulness before all. Her mother-in-law thereafter makes life unbearable for her. Having painfully said good-by to Boris, whom his uncle is dispatching to Siberia, and who is only dimly aware of her suffering, Katerina throws herself into the Volga River and drowns. Her mother-in-law, heartless to the last, even forbids Tikhon to express any grief for her.

Although the plot of *The Storm* has little resemblance to that of *Hecyra*, some details should be considered. The mothers-in-law of the two plays are diametrically opposite in disposition. Sostropa, in *Hecyra*, tries diligently to please her son's wife, and succeeds in proving to her husband that she is not harsh, as mothers-in-law are reputed to be. On the other hand, Madam Kabanova's cruelty knows no bounds; she not only treats Katerina with utter contempt, but forces her son to do so as well. Since Ostrovskii wrote *The Storm* immediately after translating *Hecyra*, it seems likely that the contrast was intentional. Russian mothers-in-law, as he knew them, apparently did not fit the Roman exception.

In *Hecyra* Pamphilus has married against his will, only after prolonged insistence by his father. So too, Tikhon has married only after much urging from his mother. This does not mean that the old lady, with her extreme possessiveness, is inconsistent; for marriage fastens another bond upon her unstable son, and gives her another victim to dominate. As Pamphilus is reluctant to abandon dissipation with his mistress, so Tikhon keeps his habit of excessive drinking. Although other indulgences could scarcely be specified by Ostrovskii, given the censorship of the period, Tikhon's behavior during his absences is open to suspicion.

Dikoi, in addition to being a tyrant, is fantastically miserly and greedy. He purposely keeps back a few kopeks from each payment to his workers, because, as he says, in a year's time this nets him a saving of thousands of kopeks; and he deliberately flies into rages, because he knows that people are afraid to approach him for payment when he is angry. His traits remind us of Demea, the strict father in Terence's *Adelphi*, and of Menedemus, the *Heauton Timorumenos*; the miser is a familiar type in Roman comedy.

Even the minor characters in *The Storm* have their likes in *Hecyra*. Barbara, who exploits the attentions of

men with a cold-blooded air, resembles Syra, who advises her friend and colleague in a disreputable profession not to have pity on any man, but to rob and torment every one she finds. It is doubtful whether censorship, again, would have permitted Ostrovskii to show Barbara in any worse character than he did. A self-taught clock-maker and inventor, who dreams of a perpetual-motion machine, a clerk in Dikoi's business, and a third commoner perform some of the functions which slaves do in Terence's plays. They comment disparagingly on the behavior of their social superiors, and engage in rude repartee with them. There is one such exchange between the inventor, who has designed a lightning-rod, and Dikoi, to whom the contrivance seems irreligious meddling with the divine order. Whereas the Roman slave feared being sent to the country or the mines as punishment, the Russian peasant dreaded being packed off to the army, if he offended his master.

One also observes Ostrovskii using a familiar stage device of Roman comedy—conversation between two persons about a third who actually could not fail to hear the remarks, but who is oblivious until the proper time. On another occasion, Boris enters, exclaims that he hears Katerina's voice but does not see her, and then discovers her standing before him.

It is evident from these comments that Ostrovskii did not attempt to follow a Roman model closely. That would have been impossible, since his purpose was not light entertainment, but bitter criticism of the cruelty concealed in outwardly respectable families, who lock their doors, as he has one of his characters say, not to protect themselves from thieves, but to hide from outsiders their abuse of their own households. It is also clear, however, that the Latin play which Ostrovskii translated worked on his imagination, and that his reaction to it is expressed in many details of his own creation,

finished only a few months later, and presented November 16, 1859.

It is greatly to be regretted that we do not have, at least in this country, any writing in which Ostrovskii discusses his attitude toward individual Greek and Roman plays.⁶ We do have one general tribute in which he suggests his admiration of classical drama by a paraphrased quotation from the Periclean funeral oration in Thucydides, and with this we may close. "The idea that fine shows educate society is not any complex proposition, which needs proofs or supports. It is the conviction of the best minds, which has become an axiom; it has behind it revered antiquity. Even the great ruler of Athens, honorable, liberally educated, distinguished friend of philosophers, and also intelligent in practical affairs, Pericles, spoke in one of his addresses to the Athenian people about the reason one should love his fatherland, i.e. Athens, and why the Athenian loves Athens: 'Because this city wants equality of all before the law, because it gives people freedom, and opens for all the road to honors, supports social order, guarantees to officials their power, and gives the people spectacles which nourish the soul.'"⁷

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NOTES

¹ "Ostrovskii i antichnaya komed'ya," in *Biru uch petrogradskikh gosudarstvennykh akademicheskikh teatrov*, 1918, No. 8, 35 ff.

² *Bez viny vinovatye; materialy i issledovaniya*. A. Revyakin. *Vserossiiskoye teatralnoye obshchestvo*, Moskva, 1947, 122-4.

³ This and other letters are published in the most recent complete edition of Ostrovskii's works: A. N. Ostrovskii, *Polnoye sobraniye sochinenii*, Moskva, 1949. Vol. 14, 17.

⁴ *op. cit.* 18, 25.

⁵ *Pamyati A. N. Ostrovskogo; Sbornik statei ob Ostrovskom i neizdannye trudy ego*, Petrograd, 1923, 186-215.

⁶ The lack of access to manuscripts is a serious handicap to research of this kind concerning Russian authors. One might find much in unpublished personal letters. Even published material is rather difficult to obtain in the United States, and I should like to express my gratitude to the Widener Library of Harvard University for making available the works cited in Notes 2 and 5 above, and to the New York Public Library for the one in Note 1.

⁷ *Polnoye sobraniye sochinenii*, Vol. 12, 322.

The Appeal to Religion in Greek Rhetoric

ARISTOTLE DEFINES rhetoric as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion." He says that it is useful, among other reasons, because "before some audiences not even the possession of the exactest knowledge will make it easy for what we say to produce conviction. For argument based on knowledge implies instruction and there are people whom one cannot instruct. Here then we must use as our modes of persuasion and argument notions possessed by everybody."¹ These modes Aristotle divides into three classes: persuasion "must in every case be effected either (1) by working on the emotions of the judges; (2) by giving them the right impression of the speaker's character; (3) by proving the truth of the statements made."²

Notions about religion are among those commonly possessed by everybody; and because of their pervasiveness in a community, yet personal and frequently highly emotional character, and their broad lines of general agreement, particularly in their moral and ethical aspects, such notions are well calculated to be especially effective modes of persuasion. Greek rhetoricians recognized this fact in theory, and applied it constantly in practice. A study of the speeches of Attic orators from Antiphon to Demosthenes shows that the appeal to religion was a highly developed and commonly used technique of Greek rhetoric. Its effectiveness when skillfully employed is attested by the exceptional ability and success of many of the speakers who used it frequently.

Appeals to religion have their place in each of Aristotle's three classes of the methods of persuasion. In this paper they will be considered in the following order: (1) those used to prove

the truth of statements made by the speaker; (2) those used to give a right impression of the speaker's character; (3) those used to arouse the emotions of the judges.

Religious appeals used as actual arguments to prove a speaker's statements fall into three groups: (1) appeals to the direct evidence of the gods as manifested in events, or by the gods in person, or by oracles; (2) appeals to precedents established by the gods; (3) a more general class of appeals varying with the particular circumstances of the case. Antiphon's speech (in antiquity considered his best)³ for the Mytilenean Euxitheus, on trial for the murder of an Athenian, one Herodes, contains a good example of the first type. Since there were no witnesses to the alleged murder, and very little concrete evidence of any sort concerning the facts in question, the whole argument of both the accused and the defendant relied heavily on presumption and inferences from probability. As the climax of the argument in his defense, Antiphon has Euxitheus say: "But in cases of this nature the indications furnished by the gods must also have no small influence on your verdict. It is upon them that you chiefly depend for safe guidance in affairs of state, whether in times of crisis or tranquillity; so they should be allowed equal prominence and weight in the settlement of private questions. I hardly think I need remind you that many a man with unclean hands or some other form of defilement who has embarked on shipboard with the righteous has involved them in his own destruction. Others, while they have escaped death, have had their lives imperiled owing to such polluted wretches. Many, too, have been proved to be defiled as they stood beside a sacrifice, because they

prevented the proper performance of the rites. With me the opposite has happened in every case. Not only have fellow-passengers of mine enjoyed the calmest of voyages; but whenever I have attended a sacrifice, that sacrifice has invariably been successful. I claim that these facts furnish the strongest presumption in my favour that the charge brought against me by the prosecution is unfounded; I have witnesses to confirm them.

"I know furthermore, gentlemen of the jury, that if the witnesses were testifying against me that my presence on shipboard or at a sacrifice had been the occasion of some unholy manifestation, the prosecution would be treating that fact as supremely significant; they would be showing that here, in the signs from heaven, was to be found the clearest confirmation of their charge."⁴

That this type of appeal to the evidence of the gods was not unusual is clear from other passages in the *Orators*. In defending himself against charges of impiety, Andocides employed the same argument Antiphon had used—his safety on long sea voyages and his deliverance from the many perils of the sea (which he dramatically enumerates) were proof of his innocence in the eyes of the gods.⁵

To counter this argument, the opponents of Andocides used one of the twenty-eight lines of argument indicated by Aristotle as possible bases of enthymemes, namely, the assertion that "some possible motive for an event or state of things is the real one."⁶ They maintained that the fact that the gods had delivered Andocides from the perils of a seafaring life and brought him safely to Athens was positive evidence of their wish that he be punished there, by the Athenians, for his impiety.⁷

In his speech against Timarchus, who was charged with immoral practices, Aeschines appeals to the god as a witness personally present and testifying. Although the vicious habits of Timarchus were evidently well known to all

who were acquainted with him—and that included most of the jury—yet the nature of the case made it difficult to find witnesses who were willing to appear publicly and give evidence. This fact of course made it practically impossible to produce certain legal proof of Timarchus' guilt, and this in turn constituted the one really weak point in Aeschines' case against Timarchus, which relied heavily on the reputation of Timarchus instead of on specific evidence. Knowing that Demosthenes (the speaker for the defense) would not fail to seize upon this point and denounce the validity of an accusation relying upon common knowledge—rumor—instead of upon witnesses' affidavits, Aeschines effectively spikes his opponent's guns and converts his weakness into a strength by claiming as his witness the god Rumor—"one of the greatest of gods"! "If I had presented witnesses concerning any matter, you would believe me; if then I present the god as my witness, will you refuse to believe? But she is a witness against whom it would be impiety even to bring complaint of false testimony."⁸

Still another variation of this appeal to the direct evidence of the gods is the argument based on the evidence of oracles. Aeschines employs such an argument in his speech *Against Ctesiphon* which is discussed below. Another example is the passage in Demosthenes' *On the False Embassy*: "Then permit no such superiority to Aeschines today. To enforce the warning that it is better to take those precautions than to be credulous, I will read to you an oracle of the gods . . . you hear the admonitions of the gods . . . The oracle also bids you . . . Therefore you are all exhorted by Zeus, by Dione, by all the gods . . . "⁹

The second type of religious appeal used as argument to prove a speaker's statements is the appeal to precedents established by the gods. Aristotle lists this as a special type of one of his twenty-eight lines of argument: "another line of argument is founded upon

some decision already pronounced . . . Such a proof is most effective if everyone has always decided thus . . . or those whom it is not seemly to gainsay, as the gods.¹⁰ An example of such argument is the passage in Demosthenes' *Against Aristocrates*, in which the author is concerned to establish the possibility of justifiable homicide: "arguing that Orestes, having slain his own mother, confessing the fact, and finding gods to adjudge his case, was acquitted, they formed the opinion that there is such a thing as justifiable homicide—for gods could not have given an unjust verdict."¹¹

Finally, there are those examples of argument based on religious appeal that do not fall into any of the classes so far discussed. These arguments differ in form and content with the particular circumstances involved in each speech. Passages in Isocrates' *Antidosis* illustrate this type of argument. In this speech, Isocrates defends himself against the fictitious capital charge that he corrupts his pupils by his teachings. He argues in his defense that not one of his opponents would fail to pray to the gods for eloquence, "yet when men strive through work and study to accomplish for themselves what these people would like to have as a gift from the gods, they accuse them of going utterly astray".¹²

Again in a manner reminiscent of Aeschines' personification of Rumor, he personifies Persuasion as a god: "But as a symptom, not only of their confusion of mind, but of their contempt for the gods, they recognize that Persuasion is one of the gods, and they observe that the city makes sacrifices to her every year; but when men aspire to share the power which the goddess possesses, they claim that such aspirants are being corrupted, as though their desire were for some evil thing."¹³

ARISTOTLE's second class of the modes of persuasion comprises those used to give a right impression of the speaker's

character. In Aristotle's opinion, the speaker's character as evinced in his speech could almost be called his most effective means of persuasion.¹⁴ In forensic oratory this type of appeal has a negative as well as a positive aspect, that is, vilification of the opponent's character as well as giving the proper impression of the speaker's own. Obviously, if the jurymen can be made to feel that the man who opposes him is a scoundrel, they will most probably feel in the same degree that the speaker is a good man. Appeals to religion in this class could be of great help either way, to build up the speaker's character, or to vilify the opponent's.

In using the religious appeal to give the proper impression of the speaker's character there are two chief techniques. One method, most commonly employed in the introduction or the peroration, is merely the utterance of pious sentiments, sentiments that patently reveal the speaker as a good man. For example, the following passage from Antiphon's *Murder of Herodes*: "I am here, as it is, because I have faith in justice, the most precious ally of the man who has no deed of sin upon his conscience and who has committed no transgression against the gods."¹⁵

Or again the passage in Isaeus' *Estate of Astyphilus*: "for it is in conformity with them that I make my claim, addressing to you a most pious prayer, that you should establish me as heir of my brother's property".¹⁶

Or Isocrates' words in the *Antidosis*: "For I know that I have spoken with so just and clear a conscience both toward the city and our ancestors, and above all towards the gods, that if it be true that the gods concern themselves at all with human affairs I am sure that they are not indifferent to my present situation."¹⁷

The second technique used to give the jury a proper impression of the speaker's character is to mention in the course of the speech some religious deed or pious act performed by him.

Aeschines relies on this technique to turn an accusation of his opponent to a point of advantage for himself in his speech *On the Embassy*. He had been accused of rejoicing with the enemies of Athens over the defeat of her friends by joining in singing the hymn of victory to celebrate the Macedonian defeat of the Phocians. His defense was not that he loved Athens' friends less, but the gods more. He replied: "if with our fatherland safe and no harm done to my fellow citizens, I joined the other ambassadors in singing the paean when the god was honoured, I was doing a pious act and no wrong, and I should justly be acquitted."¹⁸

In using religious appeals for purposes of defaming an opponent's character, the simplest method, one of the commonest, is direct name-calling, for example, the passage in Antiphon's *On the Chreutes*: "my accusers here are the most reckless perjurors and the most godless scoundrels alive".¹⁹ This method is amplified and expanded in the pseudo-Demosthenic, *Against Aristogeiton*: "All our cities contain the shrines and temples of all the gods, and among them is one of Athena, Our Lady of Forethought, worshiped as a beneficent and powerful goddess. . . . Apollo, a god and prophet both, knows what is best. But there is no temple of Recklessness or of Shamelessness. Of Justice too and Order and Modesty all men have shrines, some, the fairest and holiest, in the very heart and soul of each man, and others built for the common worship of all. But none is raised to Shamelessness or Chicanery or Perjury or Ingratitude—all qualities of the defendant."²⁰

Another method of accomplishing the same end is the reference to irreligious actions committed by the opponent. Aeschines uses this in his speech *On the Embassy*: "Demosthenes is helpless, but against those who have broken bread with him and shared in the same libations, he is a practiced orator."²¹

Generally speaking, in any given speech an orator did not rely upon one

method or one example alone to give the jury a proper impression of his own or his opponent's character. He quite commonly employed two or more of the methods described in combination and counted heavily upon frequent repetition to add strength to his claims. A good example of this technique of combination is the opening passage in the speech of Lycurgus *Against Leocrates*. Here Lycurgus simultaneously gives an impression of his own goodness and Leocrates' badness. He says: "Inspired by justice, piety, your interests, O Athenians, and those of the gods I begin my accusation of Leocrates. I pray to Athena and the other gods and to the heroes whose statues are set up throughout the city and countryside, if I have justly accused Leocrates and bring to trial the betrayer of their temples, their altars, their sanctuaries and the honors and sacrifices handed down in the laws by your forefathers, to make me this day such a prosecutor as his crimes call for."²²

Examples of systematic repetition in this connection are the speeches of Lysias, *Against Eratosthenes*, and of Pseudo-Demosthenes, *Against Neaera*. In the latter speech especially, the speaker constantly reminds the jurymen of his opponent's impious character and does it in such a way as to impress them at the same time with his own devoutness: "And if I did not bring before you this woman who is guilty of such flagrant impiety toward the gods, . . . he is guilty of impiety toward the gods . . . to reach a verdict which will be in the interest of the gods. . . ." The patriotic appeal is combined with the religious: "I shall have proved regarding this woman Neaera that she is an alien and is guilty of grievous wrongs against you and of impiety towards the gods; . . . he treats you and your laws and the gods with such utter contempt. . . ." Whoever is against her as I am is on the side of the gods; who fails to condemn her is impious himself; "in the interest of

reverence towards the gods, by exacting the penalty for acts of impiety, . . . (if you do not convict her) with what shame and impiety will you yourselves say that you are not chargeable? . . . I, therefore, men of the jury, as an avenger of the gods against whom these people have committed sacrilege. . . . It is now your duty to render the verdict which justice demands, knowing well that the gods, against whom the people have acted lawlessly, will not be unaware of the vote each of you shall cast. It is your duty to be avengers in the first place of the gods."²³

THE THIRD CLASS of the modes of persuasion includes those intended to arouse the hearers' emotions. "Persuasion may come through the hearers when the speech stirs their emotions."²⁴ This source of persuasion, which Aristotle complains was the sole concern of current writers on rhetoric, is one constantly employed by Attic orators; and appeal to religious emotion was one of the commonest forms of this technique.

In forensic oratory the appeal takes several forms. One of the commonest resulted from the nature of Athenian juries, which regularly consisted of several hundred members. In groups of this size the individual's sense of personal responsibility for his actions as a member of the group is frequently lessened or lost altogether, merged in the feeling that not he, but the whole group, is responsible for its decisions. In an effort to combat this tendency, and to bring home to each member of the jury the seriousness of his function and the fact that he himself was alone accountable to the gods for the manner in which he cast his vote, orators penned many a moving passage. Examples are found in the work of all the Attic orators, frequently several examples in the same speech; and in many cases the wording does not differ materially from speech to speech, or even from orator to orator. They emphasize three points particularly: Remember the

oaths you swore when you took your seats as jurors; remember, the gods are watching you; remember, you will share in any pollution from the presence among us of unpunished criminals. The *Rhetoric for Alexander* recommends the same technique for use in cases where a speaker finds a jury hostile and ill-disposed to listen to his speech.²⁵

Reference to the jurors' oaths is almost incessant. In his speech, *On the Murder of Herodes*, Antiphon says, "for your own sakes I think that you should acquit me. A verdict saving my life will alone enable you to comply with the law and your oath; for you have sworn to return a lawful verdict."²⁶ An example from Isaeus' *On the Estate of Menecles*, "mindful of the law and of the oath which you have sworn and of the arguments which have been used in support of my plea, pass in accordance with the laws the verdict which is just and in conformity with your oaths."²⁷ From Lysias' *Against Alcibiades*, "set neither pity nor forgiveness nor any favor above the established laws and the oaths that you have sworn."²⁸ In his *On the Mysteries*, Andocides speaks thus, "and you yourselves have taken oaths as the jurors who are to decide my fate: as jurors you have sworn to see that that decision is a fair one, under pain of causing the most terrible curses to fall upon yourselves and your children."²⁹

Most of the above examples appear in the peroration, and this seems to have been the practice among the earlier orators. Demosthenes and Aeschines make use of this appeal in passages throughout the speech.³⁰

Almost as common as this attempt to impress a sense of responsibility on the jurors by reminding them of their oaths are efforts to do so by reminding them of the presence of the gods and their concern for justice. For example, in Antiphon's *On the Murder of Herodes*, "to find an innocent man guilty of murder is a mistake, and a sinful mistake, which offends both gods and

laws. . . . you cannot rid yourselves of the responsibility for the mistakes."³¹ This whole passage is repeated verbatim in another speech of Antiphon's, *On the Choreutes*.³²

Lengthier passages of the same purport are found in other orators. For example, in the speech *Against Aristogeiton*: "You must magnify the Goddess of Order who loves what is right and preserves every city and every land; and before you cast your vote, each juryman must reflect that he is being watched by hallowed and inexorable Justice, who, as Orpheus, that prophet of our most sacred mysteries, tells us, sits beside the throne of Zeus and oversees all the works of men. Each must keep watch and ward lest he shame that goddess, from whom everyone that is chosen by lot derives his name of juror, because he has this day received a sacred trust from the laws, from the constitution, for the fatherland — the duty of guarding all that is fair and right and beneficial in our city."³³

Finally there is the reminder that the jurors themselves will share in the religious defilement from the presence of unpunished criminals in the community. The speech *Against Neaera* contains a good example: "But now that you all know the facts and have got her in your hands, and have the power to punish her, the sin against the gods becomes your own, if you fail to do so."³⁴

Aside from such specific use of the emotional appeal to religion to arouse a sense of personal responsibility, this appeal was frequently employed simply to inspire emotions of pity for the speaker and of hostility for his opponent. For example, in the speech, *On His Return*, Andocides, although admitting his guilt on the charges of impiety, attempted to gain the pity of the jurors by this appeal: "so I sprang at once to the hearth and laid hold of the sacred emblems. That act, and that alone, was my salvation at the time; for although I stood disgraced in the

eyes of the gods, they, it seems, had more pity on me than did men; when men were desirous of putting me to death, it was the gods who saved my life."³⁵

This same religious feeling about the sanctity of the hearth was used to stir feelings of hostility against a client of Lysias, as is clear from the following passage in the latter's *On the Murder of Eratosthenes*: "he had not been dragged in there from the street, nor had he taken refuge at my hearth, as these people say."³⁶

Isaeus appeals to still other religious feelings of the ancients in this passage: . . . (if you vote against me) "you will send the bitterest enemies of Astyphilus to his tomb to celebrate the rites over him."³⁷

ALTHOUGH the preceding examples illustrate the different ways in which religious appeals were used as modes of persuasion they do not exhaust, or even represent a large proportion of, the whole number of such examples to be found in the extant works of the Attic orators. There is no one of the Attic orators who does not make use of the appeal to religion in several of the various ways illustrated by the particular examples cited above. In practice, indeed, it was the habit of the orators to combine the various techniques in the same speech. The following examples from Aeschines' speech *Against Ctesiphon*, which was actually directed against and replied to by Demosthenes, and from Demosthenes' reply, *On the Crown*, illustrate this combination of several appeals in one speech and illustrate also how one set of appeals might be countered by another.

The occasion for these speeches was the trial of Ctesiphon, a friend of Demosthenes, who had been indicted by Aeschines for proposing an illegal resolution to the Senate and Assembly of the Athenians. The resolution carried by Ctesiphon in the senate, shortly after the battle of Chaeronea, was to the effect that at the next Dionysia a golden crown be publicly awarded to Demos-

thenes and it be proclaimed that the Athenian people crowned him "because he continually speaks and acts in the best interests of the people." Aeschines attacked the resolution on several grounds but chiefly on the grounds that it contained untrue statements which violated the law against inserting falsehoods in the decrees of the people. His thesis was simply this—Demosthenes never did, nor does now, speak and act in the best interests of the people; quite the opposite is true.

In his speech Aeschines divided the public career of Demosthenes into four periods and attempted to show that in each period Demosthenes acted for the worse rather than the better interests of the people. To the third period, which he considered the most important and in which he felt Demosthenes' actions had been worst, he devoted as much space as to the other three put together, and this part of his speech is wholly an argument from religion. It was during this period that the long drawn out conflict between Athens and Macedon had finally culminated in the defeat of Athens and her allies at the battle of Chaeronea. The sequence of events was as follows: although a state of war had existed between Athens and Macedon since the unsuccessful siege of Byzantium, an Athenian ally, by Philip, the Macedonian ruler, no actual hostilities of moment had as yet broken out or seemed likely to, in view of the difficulties in the way of an actual invasion of Attica by Philip. He had no navy, while Athens possessed a strong one, so that invasion by sea was impossible. Without control of the passes into Central Greece from the north, and without the support of Thebes and Thessaly, it was likewise wellnigh impossible to reach Athens overland. Since Athens of course was not powerful enough to consider an invasion of Macedonia, the situation was at a deadlock.

This deadlock was suddenly broken in a manner most advantageous to Philip, who in one swift maneuver was enabled to gain control not only of the passes

into Central Greece but of an advanced fortified base, Elatea, from which to strike at either Athens or Thebes, and this without the foreknowledge of his enemies, who were caught unprepared by his advance. The army they raised to meet his forces was completely routed, and the submission of Athens and the rest of Greece to Macedonia was the result.

Aeschines himself was in great measure responsible for the way in which the deadlock had been broken. At a meeting of the Amphictionic Council he had charged the Locrian Amphissians with sacrilege and called upon the Amphictions to punish them. The Amphictions found themselves unable to inflict the penalties called for and invited Philip to do so for them. He accepted the invitation and marched straightway into central Greece at the head of his army. However, instead of attacking the Amphissians, he seized Thermopylae and Elatea and prepared to invade Attica.

Now Demosthenes had asserted that Aeschines in acting as he did was the paid agent of Philip; and there was no denying that the disastrous results of Aeschines' action, coupled with his known Macedonian sympathies, admitted of a most unfavorable construction being put upon his conduct. This was a weakness in Aeschines' position that Demosthenes could be counted upon to exploit to the utmost. Consequently, Aeschines' review of this period (the third) was a defense of his own conduct as well as an attack on Demosthenes. The argument depends on religious appeal.

"I come to the third period, or rather to that bitterest period of all, in which Demosthenes brought ruin upon our state and upon all Hellas by his impiety toward the shrine at Delphi, and by moving the alliance with Thebes—an unjust alliance and utterly unequal. But I will begin with his sins against the gods."³⁸

There follows a detailed account of the sacrilege of the Amphissians; the

oracles and curses connected with the matter, and the oaths to avenge such a desecration, sworn by the Amphictions (the Athenians as well as the others) are quoted in detail and emphasized. Aeschines then speaks of his attempt to have Athens take part in the punishment of the wrongdoers. Demosthenes carried a decree in opposition to Aeschines, a decree which meant, says Aeschines, "that you are forbidden to remember the oaths which our fathers swore, or the curse, or the oracle of the god."³⁹

And then the gods themselves took part: "But did not the gods forewarn us, did they not admonish us to be on our guard, all but speaking with human voice? No city have I ever seen offered more constant protection by the gods, but more inevitably ruined by certain of its politicians. Was not that portent sufficient which appeared at the Mysteries—the death of the celebrants? In view of this did not Ameiniades warn you to be on your guard, and to send messengers to Delphi to inquire of the god what was to be done? And did not Demosthenes oppose, and say that the Pythia had gone over to Philip? Boor that he was, gorged with his feast of indulgence from you! And did he not at last from smouldering and ill-omened sacrifices send forth our troops into manifest danger? . . . Wherefore what is there, strange and unexpected, that has not happened in our time," the destruction of Thebes, and the subjection of Sparta and Athens — all because of the impious policies of Demosthenes.⁴⁰

In this manner Aeschines, justifying his own disputed actions on the grounds of religious necessity, argues that Demosthenes' opposition to these actions amounted to impiety and consequently brought misfortune to the city. To buttress his interpretation of events, Aeschines pictures himself as a pious man "trusting first in the gods" while he systematically attacks Demosthenes as a perjured and impious scoundrel: ". . . but Demosthenes, when he is

cheating you, first adds an oath to his lie, calling down destruction on himself;

" . . . He swore by Athena, whose statue, it seems, Pheidias wrought expressly that Demosthenes might have it to perjure himself . . . But when, perjurer that he is, he takes refuge in the confidence which you place in oaths, remind him of this, that when a man repeatedly perjures himself, and yet is continually demanding to be believed because of his oaths, one of two things ought to be true, either the gods ought to be new gods, or the hearers not the same."⁴¹

Aeschines also several times reminds the jurors of the oath they have taken: "Remember the oaths which you have sworn . . . Be just, faithful to your oath . . . Still further, the oath that he (the juror) has sworn before taking his seat haunts him and troubles him, for it was his oath, I think, that made his act (voting dishonestly) a sin; and his service is unknown to the man whom he was trying to please, for the vote is cast in secret . . . Begging you soberly, as he naturally would, by no means to hold the words of Demosthenes as more weighty than your oaths and the laws; . . ."⁴²

In his reply to Aeschines, Demosthenes begins at the outset to wipe out the impression of impiety and godlessness created by his opponent. He opens his speech with a prayer which is worded not only to show his own piety but to remind the jurors of their oath to be impartial: "Let me begin, men of Athens, by beseeching all the Powers of Heaven that in this trial I may find in Athenian hearts such benevolence towards me as I have ever cherished for the city and the people of Athens. My next prayer is for you . . . May the gods so inspire you that the temper with which you listen to my words shall be guided, not by my adversary . . . but by the laws and the judicial oath, by whose terms among other obligations you are sworn to give both sides an impartial hearing."⁴³

In the following paragraphs he again reminds the jurors of their oaths, repeats another prayer that they be benevolent and conscientious. Later, in prayer again, he solemnly calls the gods to witness the truth of his words; later still, he reminds the jury once more of their oaths; finally he ends his peroration with a prayer for the reform or destruction of the friends of Macedonia, the enemies of Athens. In this way he builds up a picture of a pious man who continually looked to the gods for help.

His argument in reply to the main charge is a most effective use of the religious appeal. As Aeschines insisted, the policy of Demosthenes if judged by its results had failed completely. He had consistently advocated opposition to Macedonia and this opposition had culminated in defeat and subjection for Athens. Demosthenes' reply to this was simple but powerful: As far as lay in human capability I chose the best policy; if it failed, the gods are responsible, not the policy, nor the man who advocated it.

"Look at the policy I chose in the light of those perils; do not carp at results. The issue depends on the will of a higher Power; the mind of the statesman is manifested in his policy. You must not accuse me of crime, because Philip happened to win the battle; for the event was in god's hands, not mine.

"All that can be said now is, that we have failed; and that is the common lot of humanity, if god so wills.

" . . . it is the gods alone who err not and fail not. It attributes the power of giving success in battle not to the statesman, but to the gods.

" . . . Nothing within the compass of one man's ability was left undone. If the superior power of some deity or of fortune, or the incompetence of commanders, or the wickedness of traitors, or all these causes combined, vitiated and at last shattered the whole enterprise, — is Demosthenes guilty?"¹⁴

Demosthenes won his case; Ctesiphon

was acquitted, and Aeschines withdrew from Athens.

Thus it is clear that Greek rhetoricians used the appeal to religion extensively and effectively as a means of persuasion. The examples cited show that it formed part of the customary pattern of rhetorical practice, and was adapted for use in all of Aristotle's three classes of the modes of persuasion. In the first it helped to prove the truth of a speaker's statements by enabling him to introduce the direct evidence of the gods, appeal to precedents established by the gods, and in other ways. In the second, it helped give a favorable impression of the speaker's character by posing him as a devout and pious champion of the gods against the wickedness and irreligion of his opponent. In the third, it helped the speaker arouse emotions of pity for himself and of hostility for his opponent, and to impress a sense of personal responsibility on the judges.

DONALD B. KING

Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio

NOTES

¹ Aristotle *Rhetoric* I 1. 1355a. (translated by W. Rhys Roberts).

² *Ibid.* III 1. 1403b.

³ F. Blass *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, vol. I (Leipzig-1887) 185.

⁴ Antiphon *Murder of Herodes* 81-94. The translations used here and those in the following quotations are all from the Loeb series, with the exception of the quotation from Lycurgus, which is my own.

⁵ Andocides *On the Mysteries* 137-9.

⁶ Aristotle *op. cit.* II 23. 1399b.

⁷ Andocides *On the Mysteries* 137.

⁸ Aeschines *Against Timarchus* 128-30. The same argument is turned against Aeschines by Demosthenes in his speech *On the Embassy* 243.

⁹ Demosthenes *On the Embassy* 297. See also Isocrates *Archidamus* 17, 31, 32.

¹⁰ Aristotle *op. cit.* II 23. 1398b.

¹¹ Demosthenes *Against Aristocrates* 74. See also in the same speech 66, 70, 81.

¹² Isocrates *Antidosis* 247.

¹³ *Ibid.* 249.

¹⁴ Aristotle *op. cit.* I 2. 1356a. 10.

¹⁵ Antiphon *Murder of Herodes* 93.

¹⁶ Isaeus *Estate of Astyphilus* 35.

¹⁷ Isocrates *Antidosis* 321-2.

¹⁸ Aeschines *On the Embassy* 163. See also: Antiphon *Prosecution for Poisoning* 20, 22; Isaeus *On the Estate of Menecles* 36.

¹⁹ Antiphon *On the Chreutes* 33, 51.

²⁰ Pseudo-Demosthenes *Against Aristogiton* I 24-5.

²¹ Aeschines *On the Embassy* 55. See also: Isocrates *Panegyricus* 155; Lysias *Against Simon* 21.

²² Lycurgus *Against Leocrates* 1.

(See page 376)

By the Papers We See . . .

Edited by John F. Latimer

THE PAST IS RIGHT ENOUGH

IN HER STIMULATING and timely book, *COMMON SENSE AND WORLD AFFAIRS* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955), Dorothy Fosdick reinforces several vital points with effective quotations from Thucydides and Euripides. Because these are words which America needs to read and ponder, this department departs from its usual practice and gratefully acknowledges the kindness of Miss Fosdick for permission to quote from them. The writer is responsible for the headings.

Chapter 1: "To know when to be scared is the beginning of wisdom."

THE SETTING

If THERE EVER was a time to be anxious, this certainly is it. One may differ with Arnold Toynbee about some things, but it is hard to find fault with his claim that Western Civilization is at many points reduplicating Graeco-Roman Civilization, and that the sort of experience we are having in our world now was experienced by Thucydides in his world also. Western Civilization is undergoing a major historical crisis, comparable to ones which all former civilizations have sooner or later experienced, and which promises to continue for years to come. (pp. 34)

ATHENIAN WARNING

... IF OUR ANXIETIES get out of hand that will only enhance our dangers. What overwhelmed Athens was, as much as anything else, her people's careless audacity and excessive action in the face of danger. The historian Thucydides described the state of mind in Athens in these terms: "Violence became the attribute of manliness . . . The advocate of extreme measures was always trustworthy; his opponent a man to be suspected." After seeing the final defeat of Athens, Thucydides, reconstructing the course of events that led to that defeat, attributed these prophetic words to Pericles: "I fear our own mistakes far more than the strategy of our enemies." (pp. 13-14)

Chapter 2: "Whoever says he has the solution to our problems speaks too soon."

NO GORDIAN KNOT

PREVENTIVE WAR is suggested by some as a way out of danger. Would not that be the device to forestall forever the possibility of Soviet preponderance? Blast the daylights out of Russia, we are told, and at least that danger will be behind us. Perhaps, but meanwhile, the holocaust would be under way and not only the

Soviet Union but America also would be reaping the whirlwind. We do well to recall the experience of Athens, which after the death of Pericles in 430 B.C., demanded a "war fought to the finish" against the Spartan confederacy. Finish is precisely what Athens got. As Euripides warned:

How are ye blind,
Ye treaders down of cities, ye that cast
Temples to desolation, and lay waste
Tombs, the untrodden sanctuaries where lie
The ancient dead; yourselves so soon to die!
(*Trojan Women*) (pp. 16-17)

Chapter 5: "Sometimes to let things alone is sound sense."

ATHENS AGAIN

WHEN THE TIMES called for it, the Athenian people lacked the capacity to be moderate. As Thucydides put it: "Words had to change their ordinary meaning and to take that which was now given them. Reckless audacity came to be considered the courage of a loyal ally; prudent hesitation, shoddy cowardice. Moderation was held to be a cloak for weakness; ability to see all sides of a question, incapacity to act on any." So Athens went down in the world. (p. 82)

Chapter 8: "Asking only for immediate and tangible rewards is shortsighted."

RUSSIAN HELP

MANY TIMES Russia, by opposing us or our policies, has increased our support among the other free nations.

During those days Aesop's famous fable applied. A lion and a goat were quarreling at a water hole as to which should drink first. There was plenty of room for them both to drink together; but nonetheless they quarreled about precedence and were preparing to fight it out when, looking up, they saw the vultures wheeling low above them waiting for the battle and its aftermath. So, says the fable, they decided to drink together. When, however, the Kremlin poses not as the vulture, but as the dove of peace, and then is shrewd enough to give some tangible, if meager, evidence of its willingness to be helpful and co-operative, we have a new situation on our hands. (p. 129)

As a final word this heading of the final chapter: "To do the good that is straight under your nose is vigilance." (p. 181)

And eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Athens told us, all subsequent history has confirmed it, and the present state of affairs demands it.

PRICE TAG

FALLACIES HAVE A WAY of slipping into our educational life—and elsewhere—by divers routes. One route is the fond notion that popularity is synonymous with ability. The other signs on the road, in order, read as follows: ability implies knowledge, knowledge indicates good judgment, and good judgment implies good judgment in all fields.

From people to things or subjects is an easy transition for such reasoning, and one

that took place with Greek and Latin and related subjects many years ago. Who learns rhetoric and grammar and orthography any more? These subjects are unpopular now but they were once the backbone of the liberal arts in "institutions which had been dedicated to man's pursuit of knowledge and culture, and of balanced living in a topsy-turvy world . . . those who were willing to study and to work to obtain a knowledge of these subjects were rewarded with an intellectual enjoyment and personal satisfaction that come only as the fruit of honest work and application to the task in hand."

These are the words, not of a teacher of the classics but of a newspaper man, James F. Looby, Education Editor of the *Hartford Courant*. They appeared in "Parade of Youth" of that newspaper for Jan. 2, 1955, and were sent to this writer by an unidentified reader from Wesleyan University.

Mr. Looby believes "there is an evident resurgence in interest especially among those more thoughtful college aspirants who are learning that classical subjects enable them to sharpen their communicative ability in expressing themselves with grace and elegance that can only be the product of a mastery of the fundamentals of speech, spelling, roots of words, grammar, rhetoric, and vocabulary as well as familiarity with the classical masters of prose and poetry, oratory and essay who have bequeathed to us so rich an intellectual patrimony . . . Quite apart from the disciplinary value of such a subject, the cultural background it affords, the 'fontes' of our own civilization as part of the necessary picture an educated person should have of Western Civilization; . . . — Latin is a universal language."

"The Classics will always be unpopular with those who would place a price tag on education," but not with those who are willing to pay the price for the kind of education you advocate, Mr. Looby. Your tribe is many but may it still increase!

PRAECO ARGENTEUS

THIS IS THE APPROPRIATE name of a Latin newspaper published by the fourth-year Latin students of Montgomery Blair High School in Silver Spring, Maryland. In the four years of its existence, says Washington's *Evening Star* (Jan. 29, 1955), it has won national recognition and honors. Among the awards: medalist rating (1954), the highest honor in the foreign-language class given by the Columbia University Scholastic Press Association; first prize (1954) among

all foreign-language newspapers published by high school students in the United States; first prize (1953 and 1954) in annual Maryland Scholastic Press convention.

Although the *Silver Herald* is published only four times a year, it manages to keep up with important current events. A St. Patrick's number, for instance, "carried biographies of the saint, Barry Fitzgerald (not a saint yet), a history of Ireland, the Blarney Stone and the shamrock." It had a special Coronation issue and received a much treasured acknowledgment from Buckingham Palace which takes its place of honor alongside letters from President Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson.

But more important than any of these symbols and insignia of achievement is the importance of Latin in the Montgomery Blair curriculum. According to Miss Hazel M. Bratt, Latin teacher extraordinary, ". . . about 11 percent of the students at Montgomery Blair are taking Latin against the national figure of 7 per cent." More than that, "In last year's national Latin contests, three Blair students scored 117 correct answers out of a possible 120, and led the list of prize winners."

Miss Bratt gives the Praeco considerable credit for this record. But Praeconium Praeconi et studentibus Latinis magistro ipsi tribuamus!

TER TERRIBLE

In Ripley's "Believe It or Not!" (*The Washington Post and Times Herald*, Feb. 6, 1955), the old standby *Latin Rebus* is shown purportedly on a tombstone in Stuttgart, Germany. For those whose memories need refreshing this is the way it looks:

RA	RA	RA
ES	ET	IN
RAM	RAM	RAM
I	I	I

GREAT CAESAR'S ATOMS

Don't look now but you may have picked up some of Julius Caesar's cast off atoms. Quite by accident of course. In case you are interested in the statistics of the thing, this is how it is statistically possible. (For the numerical and biological facts only, see *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, Feb. 6, 1955).

The original deposit in the atom bank some years ago when the earth was formed was something like 100 trillion trillion trillion atoms. This number has been changed very little despite the action of cosmic rays, atom bombings, Oak Ridge and man's per capita appropriation of about

ten billion billion for his body's composition and a lifetime input and output of 1000 billion billion billion. As anybody can see with an arithmetical turn of mind, a few of these would go a long way.

The common man's atomic inheritance then is somewhat encouraging. But lest any of us assume as a natural atomic inevitability the military genius of a J. Caesar or the irresistible charm of a Queen of Sheba, we should remember that the atoms we are inhaling at this precise moment on the atomic clock of time are slightly house-worn. In nature man is not tailor-made. This blue blood we boast is composed of atoms that came from as many forms of biologically exchangeable matter as Mater Natura can produce. It is a sobering thought that we can never be sure who our atomic ancestors actually are; that in a rather literal sense each of us is heir to all the ages, and that future generations will be forever in our debt.

Hail great Caesar: *Morituri te salutamus!*

SCHOLARSHIP ON HIGH LEVELS

IN THE INTELLECTUAL pages of *Harper's Magazine* (April, 1954) there appeared an article by General James M. Gavin. In addition to the familiar libel on our Nate Forrest, which really ought not to be propagated by a brother general, there are references to pelasts, identified as Greek light-armed soldiers, and to Valius, the Roman emperor defeated at Adrianople. It is generally believed that the Greek soldiers were pelasts and the Roman emperor Valens.

The *New Yorker* is doubtless somewhat below *Harper's* on the scale of intellect, but is widely regarded as sophisticated entertainment for the intelligentsia, being ranked distinctly above *Esquire*. In its issue of October 23, 1954, there is a discussion of the War of 1812, which includes this statement: "The *casus belli* usually advanced in the history textbooks—are inadequate." It is usually thought that *casus* is a noun of the fourth declension and hence that the plural of it is *casus*, not *casi*. In the issue of January 22, 1955, there is one of those lightly informative articles, dealing with the Praying Mantis and achieving uncommon dignity by spelling "mantis" in impeccable Greek type. In the article it is gravely declared that the plural of the word is either "mantids" or "mantes," but not "mantises." Now it does seem that a mantis may be, without courtesy, termed

a mantid; and the plural of "mantid" is indubitably "mantids"; but as a plural of "mantis," "mantids" has little claim to preference over "bugs." "Mantes" is unquestionably defensible, though the Greek type might lead one to expect "manteis." And Webster knows no reason for denying to "mantis" its right to the conventional English plural, "mantises."

F. P. JOHNSON

University of Chicago

MY MARYLAND

Laura Voelkel Sumner notes in the *Washington Post* that the Board of Regents of the University of Maryland has approved the establishment of a new Latin Department, probably with a faculty of two, and a golf course — the Platonic "music and athletics." The trustees were easier in mind as to the General Assembly's reaction to the Latin than to the golf course. Still, the state's motto, *Manly Deeds, Womanly Words*, could be said to be thus applied.

LYSISTRATA

The *Chicago Tribune* of March 6 reports that Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* has been banned from the mails, under the Comstock act of eighty-odd years ago, by Los Angeles postal authorities. A suit has been filed in federal district court by a resident of Beverly Hills against this action. The lawyer's brief "is filled with quotations from authorities ranging all the way from Plato to Alfred Kinsey." Gilbert Murray is cited as stating that the *Lysistrata* was "not exactly a great comedy, but a great play, making its appeal not to laughter alone but also to deeper things than laughter." It is candid of course, but hardly more so than parts of the Old Testament; and the Bible is considered mailable.

The *Lysistrata* has been presented in the Goodman Theatre, Chicago and by the School of Speech at Northwestern. A film version of it was used by the Austrians as a protest against the *Anschluss*. "Down Eros, up Mars!" cried Messala in *Ben Hur*. Such is the issue in this play, Love vs. War. Which of these is immoral?

CANE SCHOLARSHIP

The 1955 winner of the CANE scholarship to the Summer Session of the American Academy in Rome is Mr. Lloyd B. Urdahl, who teaches Latin at Hebron Academy in Hebron, Maine.

BOOK REVIEWS

Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry: An Anthology. By C. A. TRY PANIS. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. Pp. V-LXIII, 285. Price 21s.

IT IS FORTUNATE that lately grammars of modern Greek have appeared, but there is still great need of a good modern Greek-English dictionary; for teaching purposes in the English-speaking countries we may be grateful to the Clarendon Press for publishing an anthology of medieval and modern Greek poetry and to the Librairie C. Klincksieck, Paris, for bringing forth A. Mirambel's *Anthologie de la prose néohellenique (1884-1948)* containing one selection from each of 34 modern Greek prose writers, but without a glossary.

After a short preface (pp. V f.), an introduction of 55 pages (IX-LXIII), Trypanis gives a good concise sketch of the data on the course of the development of medieval, postmedieval and modern Greek literature, data interesting for the learner outside Greece. Then 218 selected poems are arranged in historical sequence: Byzantine period (1-92); religious poetry 1-36, secular 37-92), Frankish and Turkish periods (93-138); the folksongs 93-111; personal poetry 112-138), Modern period (139-250); the Greek romantics 139-154; the Ionian School 155-176; the Athenian School 177-216; the Individualists 217-226; Contemporary poets 227-250). In one-and-a-half pages bibliography is given (here it should be said that Heracles Apostolidis' Anthology 1708-1940 (now—1949) is not "perhaps" but safely the best anthology of mod. Grk. poetry). There follow Notes of the editor on each poem, its source, etc. (pp. 253-274), Glossary (275-285), Index of poets (283-285). The printing and fine appearance of the book is laudable.

The book, designed to satisfy a crying need for reading material in mod. Grk. poetry for European (and American) universities, is, generally speaking, successful. One may, however, hope that a considerably improved second edition would follow after a few years in which Mr. Trypanis would add also a concise metrical sketch, a more complete glossary (this part of the book should draw much more attention on the editor's part: all poetic and dialect words must be given with their exact meanings for the foreign reader who otherwise is helpless) and remove all printing errors and errors of fact.

The numbering of the lines of the extracts given from longer poems should keep the actual numbering of the complete poems.

For lack of space the numerous misspellings, misprints and misaccentuations are not listed here.

It is unfortunate that there is no consistency in the English spelling of the names of Greek poets (and other authors). Names in Greek ending in -es are usually rendered with -es in English but the writing -is is also found, for instance the editor's name is spelled *Trypanis* (not -es), but both spellings occur for certain other names, e.g. *Drosines* (LIV, 262, 269) and *Drosinis* (283); *Polemes* (LIV, 271) and -is (284); etc.

The glossary suffers from a number of defects and this is a serious matter since the verbal understanding of these poems is essential to their full appreciation: (1) A word is sometimes cited from a given poem (with its meaning in context) while its occurrences elsewhere (often with substantially different sense) are omitted. (2) Many words of the text which need translation in the glossary are unfortunately omitted: e.g. *ánguros* 'young man' 123, IV, 30; *áthos* 'ashes' 122, 16; *apostolizo* 'finish the adorning' (*stolizo*) 127, 3; etc. To omit the meaning of such dialect words in the glossary is a serious defect, if the book is to be of service to non-Greek readers; even Greek-speaking people do not know dialect or poetic words. The natural objection that the volume of the book would increase considerably in giving a rather complete glossary may be met with the counter-remark that various poems could be left out or some space could be won from the introduction if the subtitles of small captions were not given in separate lines. (3) There are errors in translation in 74, I, 25 (p. 76) *apoláktizma* of a fish is impossibly translated 'weaning', allegedly from a fuller form *apoghaláktizma* (gloss., p. 275) but the word is *apoláktisma* (from *apo-láktizo*) and means in our text 'the last kicking' of the fish. In '75, II, 19 *mimó* is translated as a verb 'I compare' (gloss., 279), the word being anc. *mimo* f. 'ape' (Suda), mod. *maimú*, and the meaning is simply that every other woman was, compared to the beautiful girl, like a monkey before Venus. In 127, 29 *óréa dháfni* (i.e. fem.; and 1.31 *o thírsis*) and is so in Vilaras' Complete

Works, ed. G. A. Vavaretos, p. 105; but as is known from Theocritus' Idyl I (and Vilaras was obviously inspired by this), Thyrsis is a shepherd singing the song of *Daphnis*, the well known ideal hero of Greek pastoral song; Daphnis was, therefore, a lover and not a woman; the error originated probably in copying and one must read: *orée* (masc.). And there are, unfortunately, many other examples of erroneous translations or interpretations.¹

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NOTES

¹ On the phonetic transcription of Greek words in this review it should be said that the phonetic alphabet is used with the following exceptions: *ch* is the anc. Grk. *chi* in its modern pronunciation as in German *ch* (*ach-* and *ich-Laut*; in mod. Grk. these are reverse *chu* and *chi* sounds); *gh* is the Grk. *gamma* in its modern Grk. pronunciation before consonants and the back vowels (*a*, *o*, *u*); *th* means Engl. *th* in *thin*, *think*; *dh* for Grk. *delta* as it is pronounced in mod. Grk. and Engl. *then*, *that*; the palatal quality of *l* and *n* before *i* is not marked, whereas *lj*, *nj*, *gj*, etc. before *a*, *o*, *u* point to *l*, *n*, *g* as palatal. Anc. Grk. words are simply transliterated.

(*Editorial note: This editor has complained elsewhere at length about procrastinating reviewers. Mr. Georgacas, however, has every right to complain about a procrastinating editor, for he submitted this review in December of 1951. It proved to be more technical than was appropriate to the modern-Greekless state of most readers of *CJ* and consequently was laid aside for revision. The editor has at long last availed himself of the license offered by Mr. Georgacas to shorten and revise the review. He has actually cut it in half and partially rewritten it in the process; any errors and misinterpretations thereby introduced must rest on the shoulders of this editor and not the reviewer. G.S.)

The Latin Language. By L. R. PALMER. London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1954. Pp. x, 372. 45 shillings.

PALMER states his purpose as follows in his Preface: "I have tried to summarize for classical students, for fellow scholars working in other fields, and for the interested laity the results reached by research into the history of Latin from the Bronze Age down to the break-up of the Roman Empire. No previous knowledge of the principles and methods of comparative philology has been assumed, such matters being elucidated in the discussion of the various problems to which they are relevant. My aim has been to state the *communis opinio* where one exists and elsewhere to set forth as fairly as I could the evidence and the divergent views which have been expressed." This purpose has been admirably accomplished in this book, which can be recommended to all who teach Latin. Those who employ any of the various linguistic

approaches to Latin will find it especially useful.

In form, Palmer's book rather resembles Bennett's *Latin Language* (Boston, 1907), which it will replace. It has much the same general proportions and emphases, but Palmer brings one up to date. The chief defect of the book stems directly from its greatest virtue; Palmer rarely permits himself to go beyond the limits set by the tradition of grammatical scholarship in the last fifty years, so that its emphases are faithfully reflected in the proportion of space he gives to various topics.

The most useful chapters in the book for the Latin teacher are: Chapter V. Development of the Literary Language, and Chapter X. Syntax. The first of these is divided into three sections: poetry, literary prose, and postclassical poetry and prose. The first two are both excellent; but Palmer has no sympathy with any author who might sully the purity of a schoolboy's Latin composition. The chapter on syntax alone is worth the price of the book. As Palmer says, it is written as a running commentary on the standard school grammars, and every page contains a wealth of material that is immediately usable in the classroom.

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RELIGION — RHETORIC

(from page 371)

²³ Pseudo-Demosthenes *Against Neaera* 12, 13, 15, 43, 44, 74, 109, 126.

²⁴ Aristotle *op. cit.* I 2. 1356a.

²⁵ *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 18. 35-40.

²⁶ Antiphon *Murder of Herodes* 85.

²⁷ Isaeus *Estate of Menecles* 47.

²⁸ Lysias *Against Alcibiades* 40.

²⁹ Andocides *On the Mysteries* 31. For other examples see: Andocides *On the Mysteries* 9, 91; Antiphon *On the Chreutes* 3; Demosthenes *Against Boeotus* 41, and *For Phormio* 1, 26, 61.

³⁰ See the example cited from Aeschines' *Against Andron* 4, 20, 39, 43, 45, 46.

³¹ Antiphon *On the Murder of Herodes* 88-9.

³² Antiphon *On the Chreutes* 6.

³³ Pseudo-Demosthenes *Against Aristogeiton* I 11. See also *ibid.* 99.

³⁴ Pseudo-Demosthenes *Against Neaera* 109. See also Antiphon *Tetralogies* *passim*.

³⁵ Andocides *On His Return* 11.

³⁶ Lysias *Murder of Eratosthenes* 27.

³⁷ Isaeus *Estate of Astyphilus* 36.

³⁸ Aeschines *Against Ctesiphon* 106.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 127. ⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 130-1.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 1, 99, 150, 203-209. See also: 52, 67, 77, 176, 224.

⁴² *Ibid.* 8, 233, 257. See also: 1, 6, 31.

⁴³ Demosthenes *On the Crown* 1-3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 192, 193, 200, 290, 303.

THE REVIEW CUPBOARD

Edited by Grundy Steiner

Et summis admiratio
veneratioque et
inferioribus merita
laus

THE PROLONGED absence of The Review Cupboard from current issues of *The Classical Journal* has been the result of two factors: (1) the distraction of the Book Review Editor who, owing to various other commitments, must confess virtual non-feasance in office, and (2) an astonishing number of reviewers who, owing to good and compelling reasons (mostly unstated), have failed to get their reviews into the editor's hands. This editor assumes, however, the real responsibility for these manifold failings and now casts an eye toward the coming year and the assignment facing whoever will function as Book Review Editor.

The ever-present problem of the Book Review Editor is, when a new book arrives, to get it into the hands of someone both competent and willing to review it who will *actually* get the job done. This is neither a simple matter nor an effortless procedure (except where a reviewer has undertaken to do an entire series or category of books).

Let us assume, by way of example, that the new book is entitled *The Extermination of Rodents, Reptiles, and Other Noxious Pests in Ancient Ostia*. The first point, if the work clearly warrants a separate notice in *The Classical Journal*, is to locate an authority on the matter. This may not be easy, especially if the only one is young and still engaged in basic research preparatory to any sizable publication, but usually an established name comes to mind. A letter goes off to this authority—Professor A., the renowned Classical Herpetologist—who may not answer at all because he is bedridden with a recurrent form of malaria or because he is on leave without a functioning forwarding address. (His failure to answer ties up the book almost indefinitely, for each day's mail might bring the hoped-for consent.) But if he answers, there is just about one chance in three that he will do the review. More likely he will be just ready to go on leave, or be writing a book, or be correcting the page proofs of a three-volume monograph by a colleague, or a colleague will have died raising his teaching load beyond the point of tolerance, or he *never* does reviews (although this

book does tempt him) because he spends too much time on them or, most likely, both *AJA* and the *American Journal of Exterminational Consultants* have already approached him and he cannot, in good conscience, use more than two review copies, or (most frustrating of all) he may say that his specialty is Lucanian and Apulian snakes and that, consequently, he cannot risk commenting on a work about snakes from Ostia.

Now he may suggest the name of an equally distinguished Classical Myoxologist who (three chances out of four) is likely to decline on any one of the grounds already stated, but chiefly that he is completing a revision of his standard work on the ancient dormouse. Now he may report sadly that nobody else in this country knows anything about the subject except a young graduate student whose dissertation has just been completed. This student, in turn, may accept, but more likely is already doing a review for *CW* or *CP*, or else has just become a father (or mother)—twins, or else has just received notice from his drafting-board, etc., etc.

To cut all this short (these arguments are fictitious but at the same time reasonable facsimiles of statements made to this editor during the last few years)—to cut this short, the greatest single aid to an editor seeking reviews would be an annual report of "Works in Progress" for the entire field of Classical studies. The annual record of publications in older issues of *TAPA* was highly useful but that has gone, apparently forever. The alternative of canvassing the contents of periodicals and programs of learned meetings for the subject interests of persons currently publishing is time consuming. Both sources catch only the finished product and often miss the man who has a treatment of a topic pretty well along and who would be quite capable of preparing a sound review. For this (and countless other purposes) a current report of research in progress seems the only good answer—hear! hear!

And in addition to the difficulty of finding competent and willing reviewers, there is the problem of the competent and willing

procrastinator—about one person in five joyfully accepts a book and does not contrive to get it reviewed—ever! But that casualty rate, unfair as it is to authors and publishers, would be more tolerable if the difficulty of finding "acceptances" were not so great.

The purpose of all this is to urge that anyone, old or young, who is travelling with sincerity on the road of scholarly research, who would be willing to devote the requisite time to the preparation of an occasional review within the field of his specialty or his greatest interest, make himself known (together with a statement of his specialties and interests) to this editor. The greatest help a review editor can have is a full stable of willing and active (and available) reviewers. The finest gift that the readers of *The Classical Journal* could give the Book Review Editor of next year would be a ready-assembled list of just such helpers.

The guest editor for this issue of *The Review Cupboard* is a trusted student of Classical history and antiquities, A. D. Fraser. He is reviewing an armful of books and monographs on phases of ancient history.

ANCIENT HISTORY

The Near East and the Aegean

Ancient History of Western Asia, India and Crete. By BEDRICH HROZNY. Translated by JINDRICH PROCHAZKA. New York: Philosophical Library Inc., 1953. Pp. xv, 260; 2 maps; 9 plates; 144 figs. in text. \$12.00.

THE READER will soon become aware that this is not strictly, as the title would indicate, a history of several countries. It is in the Epilogue that its true nature is revealed. "In this book," says the author, "I have endeavored to summarize the results of my life's work in the history and languages of the ancient Orient." It is thus a *Res Gestae* in the Augustan sense. Consequently, objective and subjective elements are frequently commingled in a way that is distinctly disconcerting.

In addition, the reader would be well advised to brace his nerves against further irritations—documentation occurring sometimes directly in the text, sometimes in parentheses, sometimes in the form of footnotes; much repetition; a translation which, while adequate, is often far from idiomatic.

Hrozny, who died in 1952, was, within certain limits, a truly great scholar. His knowl-

edge of ethnology was defective (What can anyone make of the phrase (p. 104), ". . . an invasion of Indo-European, Hittite and Aryan nations?"), but his skill in linguistics was astounding, though he was not invariably right. Most of Chapter XVI is taken up with an exposition of his system of interpretation of the Proto-Indian script found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, as is Ch. XVII, with his reading of Cretan Linear Script B. Though he presents his conclusions at times "with caution" or "with hesitation," it is clear that he has full confidence in his own accomplishment. On the other hand, Sir Mortimer Wheeler has recently declared (*The Indus Civilization*, Cambridge, 1953, p. 81, n. 3): "The published attempts to do so (i.e., to read the Proto-Indian script) are invalid." And Ventris and Chadwick, in their well-known paper on script B (*J.H.S.* 73 (1953), pp. 84-105), take occasion completely to repudiate Hrozny's methods which, they declare (p. 85), "arrive at unpronounceable words, at inflections which show a bewildering irregularity, and at meanings which are ludicrously out of context with the evident subject-matter of the tablets." But it is well to recall the Hrozny of forty years ago and his brilliant elucidation of the Hittite language.

The day is happily long gone by when the Classical scholar could afford to turn his back on Oriental history and antiquities. Greek culture would still remain the haunting miracle that it was to the men of the Renaissance were it not for the proverbial light from the East that continues to provide its illumination in ever-increasing volume. One would hesitate to recommend this book of Hrozny's, with its lack of form, its inconsistencies and eccentricities, as an ideal source from which to seek information on the Oriental field. But the reader will find—to say nothing of the value of the illustrations, which are, in the main, excellent, though often curiously tagged—a great deal of interesting and curious information, and he will inevitably find, here and there, flashes of that genius that was the author's before "that cursed thing called age" began to lay its heavy hand upon him.

A Forgotten Kingdom. By SIR LEONARD WOOLLEY. (Pelican Books, A261) Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1953. Pp. 191; 24 plates; 27 figs. in text. Cloth \$1.95; paper \$0.75.

THE FORGOTTEN KINGDOM was situated in the vicinity of the Hellenistic Antioch in Syria, at a strategic point for archaeological investigation. For this is virtually with-

in the compass of the right angle formed by the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria. And here flourished, from remote antiquity, a small buffer state which was traversed by the natural trade-routes running from Mesopotamia, the Lake Van region and Anatolia to the Mediterranean. Points like this, as Sir Leonard makes clear, are the contemporary objectives of archaeological research, now that the chief centers of civilization and their immediate purlieus have been examined with some degree of completion.

Here then Sir Leonard excavated, on the specific sites of Atchana (the ancient Alalakh) and al Mina (probably the ancient Posideum), in seven campaigns covering the years 1936 to 1949. The result of these excavations have been for some time available in large and expensive volumes. In this little volume we have all the essentials, written in the usual masterly fashion of this well-known author, who is able now to indulge himself a little more in surmise and theory than would have been possible in a more definitely scientific work.

The site of Alalakh shows clear evidence of having been occupied by man from the Neolithic period. The city itself apparently came into being late in the fourth millennium and was ultimately destroyed by the "Peoples of the Sea," as they were known to the Egyptians, in 1194 B.C., when Phrygian Troy was tottering to her fall. Among the earliest of its public buildings was a temple to the city god, and this edifice was destined, with the passage of years, to be rebuilt no fewer than 15 times with varying ground-plans and superstructures.

The discoveries made at Alalakh are of much more than local interest. A Hittite tablet which was found there is by far the earliest known, and this consideration suggests that the Hittite script may have originated here rather than in Anatolia. Also, crude-brick columns were excavated, and this is an architectural feature of great rarity and one confined elsewhere to Mesopotamia. Sculptured lions found at Alalakh are manifestly the ancestors of the whole series of Syro-Hittite lions and perhaps even of the better-known Assyrian examples. And there is also what is almost surely a Mithraeum dated about 1500 B.C.—one vastly antedating any other known example. The ceramic connections between Alalakh and Cyprus and Crete are still unclear, but the discovery of certain types of pottery has tended towards upsetting several long-cherished postulates regarding the history

of the last two.

Considering its small size, the book is amazingly well illustrated with its 24 fine, slightly sepia-tinted plates and its 27 drawings—mainly of ground-plans—in the text.

The Rhodian Peraea and Islands. By P. M. FRASER and G. E. BEAN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954. Pp. ix, 191; 12 plates; 2 maps. \$4.00.

THIS IS A WORK of fine scholarship—addressed to that small group who are concerned with the history and antiquities of the eastern Aegean.

Nowadays the word "empire" is out of favor—it does not occur in the book—but the term might be aptly applied, in a small way, to the territorial acquisitions of Rhodes during her heyday in the second century B.C. This was when she gained control, though not simultaneously, of at least seven adjacent islands, together with not inconsiderable areas of Caria and Lycia. Ultimately her ambitions were severely curbed by Rome.

Between 1948 and 1950, Bean several times visited the peninsula of Bozburun, "the heart of the Rhodian Peraea," on an epigraphical mission. He discovered or rediscovered 49 inscriptions; their publication forms Chapter 1. No excavations were attempted, and it is a safe inference from the existence of this windfall above ground that the region will some day prove to be a rich source of epigraphical material.

The second chapter is taken up with the extremely difficult question of the details of the Peraean topography, and of this it may perhaps fairly be said that no more than good spade-work has been accomplished. The student of Greek constitutional history will find much to interest him in the concluding chapters, though he will find himself somewhat at a loss with regard to the particular functions of the state officials: the *epistatae*, *hegemones* and *strategoi*. They are still imperfectly known.

The Peraea shows two constitutional divisions: the Incorporated and the Subject, which were accorded different methods of treatment by Rhodes. In the former section, we find the adoption of the Attic deme system. The name, at least, is there; but the authors are careful to point out that the Rhodian system partook apparently of the grim Dorian-Spartan type of administration.

The reviewer is no epigraphist, but he desires to tender a word of approval, whatever it may be worth, to the authors' admirable handling of the inscriptions of the Peraea, which are restored and interpreted

with an unusual degree of acumen. Some twenty of them are reproduced, nearly all in the form of squeezes. Why were the photographs not made directly from the stones? Failing this, why was it considered worth while to reproduce the squeezes? In a fair number of instances, scarcely a letter is legible.

Athens and Alexander

The Spring of Civilization: Periclean Athens. Edited by CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, JR. New York: Dutton, 1954. Pp. xv, 464; two maps; 74 plates. \$7.50.

THIS IS NOT a textbook; it is addressed to the general reader—a term that has long and widely been in use in Britain. In this country it is becoming, one notes with approval, increasingly frequent in occurrence.

The editorial element is restrained to a minimum. A brief introduction is followed by still briefer disquisitions on Drama, Philosophy, Art and the Peloponnesian War. There follow a chronological summary and a bibliography.

Two-thirds of the book is occupied with translations of complete plays from the Greek tragedians—one by Aeschylus, three by Sophocles and two by Euripides. Happily, each rendering is done by a different translator. Philosophy is represented by Plato's *Apology* and *Symposium*, the latter the spirited work of Shelley. The Peloponnesian War is a summary of 20 pages prepared by the Editor, interspersed with considerable excerpts from Jowett's Thucydides and Dakyns' Xenophon.

To illustrate the art of the Periclean period 70 fine half-tones are supplied *en bloc*, and in the text are found further plates with portraits of the tragedians and Socrates. These last include, perhaps unfortunately, the somewhat uncertain "Sophocles" of the Lateran and the British Museum Socrates, which may be a forgery. The main body of plates illustrate the architecture of the period (One wonders why the Hellenistic-Roman Olympium is included). In addition they show seven pieces of non-architectural sculpture, one coin, six vase-paintings and four gems. The great majority of the photographs that involve the great buildings of Athens—entire and in detail—are the work of Miss M. Alison Frantz. One could wish that they all had been, as she possesses an unusual eye for photographic composition, in addition to perfection of technique. A few inferior pictures have, unfortunately, been included, notably Plates 4, 9 and 50.

The book is an extremely attractive one. Its publication may be denominated an in-

teresting experiment. Is there in America a sufficient number of "general readers" to warrant the production? Let us hope so.

The Athens of Demosthenes. By A. H. M. JONES. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1952. Pp. 29. \$0.50.

BRITISH INAUGURAL addresses usually present the phenomenon of *multum in parvo cum* a pronounced excellence of structure. *The Athens of Demosthenes*, delivered at Cambridge in 1952, is no exception to the rule.

Was the Athenian populace of Demosthenes' day as paltry a band of shirkers as they are commonly represented? Professor Jones begins his answer to the query by probing deeply into the problems attending the contemporary *eisphora* and reaches the conclusion—based, it must be granted, on singularly unstable bits of evidence—that it was not a graduated property tax, but that all who were subject to it paid the same percentage. The exemption limit looks to be 2500 drachmas and under, though one may entertain misgivings as to this figure; it seems on the face of it too high.

Demosthenes shows little financial judgment in his attempt to transfer the *theorikon* to the war-fund; it must have been at this time "very small beer," as the author expresses it.

The Athenians are surely no more cowardly than the other Greeks; but they shun service for the good reason that the pay, if any at all is given, is niggardly. In the days of the full treasury of the fifth century, the seaman received one drachma and the hoplite two drachmae a day. Why the lower classes, with their plurality of votes, did not press for increases is a perplexing question. Perhaps they stood too much in awe of the *graphe paranomon*. Certainly the poor were absenting themselves somewhat regularly from the ecclesia and even from the 3-obol-a-day employment in the courts. All in all, the populace of Athens is more worthy of sympathy than derision.

Alexandre le Grand. By PAUL CLOCHÉ. Paris. Presses Universitaires de France, 1954. (Collection "Que sais-je?" 622.) Pp. 127. Fr. 150.

THE *Que Sais-je* series may be placed in the same category perhaps as the Pelican-Penguin books, but is inferior in binding, printing and paper. In this volume, Alexander's early life and lineage is summarized in a page, and he is ready for his first campaign in Asia Minor at the end of five

more. Thereafter the tempo slows materially and the subsequent career of the hero is presented in brief but adequate summary, nothing of importance being omitted. If one chapter possesses more value than another it may well be V, whose subject matter usually presents particular difficulties to the historian, namely, the slow and tedious conquest of the eastern satrapies. The treatment is excellent.

Coming as it does from the master hand of M. Cloché, the book lacks nothing in accuracy, sprightliness and lucidity. It may be noted that the author, while readily admitting as historic the effort of Alexander to fuse the cultural systems of east and west, is not entirely sympathetic with W. W. Tarn's (and Plutarch's) view of Alexander's asserting the essential equality of all mankind and the consequent brotherhood of humanity. Perhaps the elaboration of Plutarch's *Moralia* 329A-C330 is nothing more than a further example of his rather frequent lapses into sentimentality.

There is no index, but there is a good bibliography of works on Alexander that were published from 1922 to 1953 inclusive. It is a little surprising that Altheim's important work, *Alexander und Asien* (Tübingen, 1953), is not included.

Rome

Quintus Veranius Consul A.D.49 . . . By ARTHUR E. GORDON. (*University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. vii, 231-352; plates 7-13.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952. \$1.75.

THIS is a very detailed and careful study, by Professor (and Mrs.) Gordon, of an inscription in Rome. The stone is built into a wall near the Museo Nazionale. In view of its fragmentary condition, it is a little unfortunate that investigations were not pushed as far as Pratolungo, the place of its original discovery, 5½ miles from Rome, to see if other parts of the stone might not be recovered.

The inscription commemorates Quintus Veranius (he had no cognomen), whose career extended from the latter days of Tiberius to the time of Nero. His most important offices were governorships of Lycia (or Lycia-Pamphylia) and later, in A.D. 53, of Britain where he died in harness.

These and other facts were already known regarding Veranius. The intensive study of this inscription has served to correct a number of minor assumptions regarding either the man or his political relations with the successive emperors. Thus, he was made a patrician by Claudius in A.D. 49,

a function which he was not hitherto known to have performed later than 48. Gordon speaks of this act as a mark of Claudius' retention of his censorial power to this date; but is this a necessary assumption?

A number of more or less distinguished Veranii are mentioned in literature and / or inscriptions, from the friend of Catulus down to Quintus and beyond. Gordon shows both patience and ingenuity in his assigning, though with due caution, each to his proper place.

A consideration of two of the honors enjoyed by Veranius bears fruit in two very valuable appendices, whose combined length surpasses that of the rest of the paper. The first provides a list of all the superintendents of temples and public works and places, with a complement of attendant circumstances. The second provides a history of the *ornamenta triumphalia*—taken in the broadest sense—of the imperial age.

The photography is admirable. Particularly fine are the reproductions of squeezes. It is a pleasure to look, e.g., at Pls. 11 and 13, which seem even clearer, if that were possible, than if made directly from the marble.

The Tacitean "Non Lquiet" on Seneca. By WILLIAM HARDY ALEXANDER. (*University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, Vol. 14, No. 8, pp. 269-386.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952. \$1.25.

THE AVOWED purpose of this enquiry is set forth succinctly by the author in these words (p. 350): ". . . to take note of all references to Seneca occurring in Tacitus and of everything that looks like deliberate omission, with a view to finding out what the 'gloomy dean' of Roman historians actually said (or instructively failed to say) about Seneca." This mission could have been adequately accomplished in half the space, but Professor Alexander has chosen to conduct the reader at a very leisurely pace along the historical avenue that extends from the closing years of Claudius till the death of Seneca in A.D. 65. External affairs are sedulously excluded; it is mainly the court life that is scanned. With scholars who have previously trodden this path the author is not greatly concerned; but perhaps this consideration does not detract from the monograph's value.

The author is much concerned with the matter of style in historical writings; he seems equally concerned with the necessity for the analyst of historians to acquit himself likewise with distinction. This pre-

occupation with style has met with a very considerable degree of success. For, apart from an occasional tumble into the cesspool of current journalese (e.g.: "true also was the fact," p.295; "strict factual truth," p.353; "the capacity for concretizing," p.338; "the evaluation of Seneca," p.342) and the somewhat frequent framing of inordinately long sentences, the author maintains his style on a sufficiently lofty level to satisfy the most fastidious reader.

Eventually, as the analysis reveals, Tacitus, despite all he finds to say about Seneca, fails to render a significant verdict on the man. Seneca had too many elements of human dignity and decency about him, as compared with such creatures as Sejanus or Agrippina. As Alexander puts it well in one place: "he (Seneca) does not suit the Tacitean biographic scheme which flourishes on the villain type" (p.376).

The author entertains a great admiration for Lytton Strachey, in whom he apparently sees a second Tacitus. In a concluding footnote (p.377, n.23) he expresses his gratification at having discovered Joseph J. Reilly's *Of Books and Men*, with his essay on this eminent member of the Bloomsbury circle. One may venture to hope that he has not missed the more recent *Bloomsbury Group*, by J. K. Johnstone (Secker and Warburg, 1954), which reanalyzes this interesting coterie and brings it closer to earth than would have been possible a generation ago. To most of the moderns, Strachey is a self-conscious master of exaggeration—a rather tiresome fellow.

The Decline of the Roman Empire in the West. By FRANK W. WALBANK. (Schuman's College Paperbacks.) New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1953. Pp. xiii, 97. One map. \$1.00.

THE DATE of this essay, as given at the close of the Introduction, is 1944; but internal evidence seems to indicate that it may have been composed before the War. Here it is reproduced for the first time in an American edition, British spelling (e.g., *labour* and *manoeuvre*) and all.

Though he hardly mentions the theories of the dissipation of wealth in the frontier garrisons or the failure of Roman agricultural science, Professor Walbank seeks the reason for the downfall of Rome in the economic channel, which, indeed, he seldom departs from. Ultimately, the cause is the failure of Rome and the ancient world to develop the machine. This defect in the processes of production leads unmistakably to the institution of slavery. Thence there

arises the belief, shared even by the philosopher, that all aspects of manual exertion are base and servile. Out of this article of faith arises the caste system.

The economic wastefulness of slavery made itself felt as early as the second century A.D., but the vast imperial machine must needs be supported, and the emperors impose more and more pressure on the monied classes for essential funds. To escape these liturgies they are often found fleeing from the cities to the remoter parts of the country where they institute the manorial system, the precursor of feudalism, which proved an increasing embarrassment to the imperial government.

To meet these difficulties, Rome formed itself into a Corporative State (Walbank's term), which differed from the socialistic chiefly in that it took no concern in the welfare of its members. Hereditary collegia replaced comparatively free enterprise. Everywhere men lived under a thinly-veiled military discipline. But, as the author is careful to point out, the emperors were in no way blameworthy for this state of affairs. "The later Caesars," he declares, "were the victims of circumstances, if ever men were" (p.51).

The theory as such is not new, but the marshalling of facts is admirable and the reasoning is cogent. It is strange, however, to find no mention of the unhappy result of the Severan policy toward the army, and the innumerable later instances of its getting out of hand. And one would like to see Professor Walbank confront the problem why, with its liberal institutions and full enjoyment of the Industrial Revolution, the United States so long fostered slavery.

Edward Gibbon—His View of Life and Conception of History. By PER FUGLUM. Oslo: Akademisk Forlag; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1953. Pp. 176. 10s.6d.

THIS RATHER slender volume, the first of the *Oslo Studies in English* series, presents a well-composed and penetrating study of the historian Gibbon, to whom the 20th century has granted a somewhat snifly approval. Fuglum uses, in addition to the obvious *Decline and Fall*, many of Gibbon's less known works, particularly his *Essai sur l'Etude de la Littérature*, as subsidiary mirrors from which to cast light on his unique personality and art.

Beginning with an appraisal of Gibbon, the man, the author unfolds, in successive chapters, his qualities as philosopher and historian, then his views on politics, social problems, economics and religion.

With Fuglum's critical judgments few thoughtful readers will quarrel; he is on the whole conservative, certainly unprejudiced. Very pithily, in one place (p.95) he characterizes the *Decline and Fall* as ". . . a huge drama the protagonists of which are divided into two groups: on one hand a small number of great leaders and their nobility, on the other the masses. In his narrative he dwells now on the former, now on the latter, switching over with exquisite art and a rare sense of contrast."

There is a good bibliography and index. The English is impeccable (Per Fuglum has studied at the University of Oxford), but occasionally he over-Gallicizes his Anglicizations of proper nouns; witness, Elagabal, Belisar, Procopius.

A. D. FRASER

University of Virginia

DIODORUS

It is appropriate to append here a brief note about two workmanlike volumes in the Loeb Classical Library—two more volumes of Diodorus of Sicily. Diodorus is not great literature (nor great history) but he does need to be available for study.

Diodorus of Sicily. Translated by C. H. OLDFATHER. Vol. 6: Books XIV-XV. 19. (Loeb Classical Library No. 399.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1954. Pp. vi, 399; map. \$3.00.

THE EVENTS OF 404-383 B.C., including the rise of the Thirty in Athens, much about the activities of Dionysius of Syracuse, and events in other parts of the Greek world. Of comparative interest to even the most casual student of Livy is the account of the capture of Rome by the Gauls complete with wakeful geese but with no bearded, statuesque *senes*. And there is an entertaining account of Dionysius' troubles with Philoxenus and other honest critics.

A casual sampling indicates that the translation is normally both faithful as a rendering and straightforward as reading. Even so, in 14.71.4 (p.207), some wording like "not only did those who were not related abandon one another . . ." would have been more felicitous than "not only did any not akin abandon one another . . ." With the publication of this volume, the sequence of the first seven volumes of the Loeb Diodorus is filled out.

Translated by RUSSEL M. GEER.

Vol. 10: Books XIX. 66-110 and i.e., XX. (Id., No. 390.) *Ibid.*, 1954. Pp. v. 454; 3

maps. \$3.00.

THE EVENTS OF 314-302 B.C., chiefly those centered in Sicily and about Carthage. There is an account of the customs of the Arabs and a description of the Dead Sea, and, of course, a report of the censorship of Appius Claudius (whose blindness Diodorus regards as pretended).

The only questionable detail noted about the translation is a matter of connotation: it seems highly anachronistic in 20.73.3 and 74.2 to render *belē* as "ordnance" but there is a kind of appropriateness at that.

PENGUIN CLASSICS

The two volumes of the Loeb Diodorus are good solid pieces of workmanship, but quite conventional. A breath of fresh air, by contrast, strikes the reader who opens up either the Penguin Thucydides or Herodotus. In both, as in the earlier Handford translation of Caesar, parenthetical passages in the ancient author have, in many instances, been dropped to the bottom of the page as footnotes.

Herodotus: The Histories. Translated by AUBREY DE SELINCOURT. (The Penguin Classics, L 34.) Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., 1954. Pp. 599; 2 maps. \$1.00.

Thucydides: The Peloponnesian War. Translated by REX WARNER. (Id., L 39.) *Ibid.*, 1954. Pp. 553; 4 maps. \$1.00.

A SAMPLE from the first page of each catches the venturesome spirit of the translators. (Herod. 1.14) "These women were standing about near the vessel's stern, buying what they fancied, when suddenly the Phoenician sailors tipped each other the winkle and made a rush at them. The greater number got away; but Io and some others were caught and bundled aboard the ship, which cleared at once and made off for Egypt." And (Thuc. 1.1.3) "For though I have found it impossible, because of its remoteness in time, to acquire a really precise knowledge of the distant past or even of the history preceding our own period, yet, after looking back into it as far as I can, all the evidence leads me to conclude that these periods were not great periods either in warfare or in anything else."

The binding is that of ephemeral literature, and the idiomatic nature of the translations may date them very readily, but they are surely a delight to the modern reader and if they contribute, as they should, to making the authors "come alive" they will have rendered a tremendous service.

G.S.

INDIANA WORKSHOP

The Department of Classics at Indiana University will present its second workshop, June 17-July 8. This program, for high-school teachers and other students of the field, carries three hours of graduate credit in Latin or Education and may be combined with other Latin courses given in the regular summer-session for a total of four-eight credits. Its main purpose is to provide an occasion for persons with a common interest in Latin to study several aspects of Latin language, literature, and culture which are equally important for a knowledge of the field and for the presentation of the field to students.

Two Indiana high-school teachers will be members of the staff: Miss Eileen Johnson of Anderson High School, who has been a member of the Sweet Latin Workshop and the Minnesota Auxilium Latin Group; and

Miss Gertrude Oppelt, Chairman, Department of Foreign Languages, South Side High School, Fort Wayne, and member of the Auxilium Latin Group. They will collaborate with Professors Fred W. Householder, Jr., Verne B. Schuman, and Norman T. Pratt, Jr., of the University staff.

The main study-group will examine objectives and methods for the presentation of second-year Latin. There will be elective groups on: the demonstration and evaluation of the linguistic approach to elementary Latin (using the facilities of a language laboratory); the political scene at the time of Caesar; aspects of the Latin language; and mythology in the *Metamorphoses*. Current classical films will be shown and discussed at workshop suppers.

A special folder containing details may be obtained from Professor Norman T. Pratt, Jr., Department of Classics, Indiana University, Bloomington.

ETA SIGMA PHI MEDALS

Eta Sigma Phi, national honorary classical fraternity, announces a wider selection and distribution of its Honor Award, as three types of medals are now available. Medal No. 1, the Fourth Year Latin Award, in silver, measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ " at \$3.75. Medal No. 2, the Alternate Fourth Year Latin Award, also in silver, measures $\frac{3}{4}$ " at \$1.25. Medal No. 3, Second Year Latin Award, comes in bronze, $\frac{3}{4}$ " at \$1.25. These handsome medals, as in previous years, depict the Parthenon, on one side, together with "Praestantia Linguarum Classicarum"; on the other, the Nike of Paeonius and "Mihi Res Non Me Rebus." Orders, to be placed at least three weeks before the date of presentation, must be accompanied by a statement certifying that the awards are to be made to high-school students in Second and/or Fourth year Latin who have a grade of "A" (90 plus) throughout the year. Medals and order blanks are available from Professor H. Lloyd Stow, Registrar for the Eta Sigma Phi Medal, Vanderbilt University, Nashville 5, Tennessee.

KENTUCKY FOREIGN LANGUAGE CONFERENCE

"Foreign Languages and the Humanities" will be the theme of the Eighth University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, to be held on the campus at Lexington, April 28-30, 1955. Featured will be an International Relations Session on "The Problem of West European Unity," discussed by representatives of countries concerned. In addition, some two hundred scholars and teachers from throughout the nation will read papers, both academic and pedagogical, in sectional meetings devoted to Classical and other Languages, Bibliography, the Teaching of Latin, and foreign languages generally, including such in the elementary school.

The 1954 Conference drew approximately 550 registrants, representing 251 institutions and thirty-five languages and language areas (from Albanian to Zapotecan and from English to Chinese), from thirty-one states, four provinces of Canada, Austria, Greece, India, Iraq, Israel, Japan, Mexico, and Santo Domingo.

Dr. Jonah W. D. Skiles (Ancient Languages) is Director of the Conference, and Dr. Daniel V. Hegeman (German) and Dr. L. Hobart Ryland (Romance Languages) are Associate Directors. Programs may be had from the Director, Dr. Jonah W. D. Skiles, Department of Ancient Languages and Literatures, University of Kentucky, Lexington.

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WORKSHOPS

With the ACL Latin Institute held at Iowa City on June 23-5, followed on Monday by an invoice of the Classics, and that by the Iowa workshop and summer session, *SUI* offers much to call one there. *Details from G. F. Else, S. H. 112, SUI, Iowa City.*

The University of Illinois has condensed much within the four weeks, June 27-July 22, a workshop (20 minutes discussion, 45 minutes lecture on linguistics and antiquities, 45 minutes laboratory with mechanical aids — each daily); short courses on oral Latin (R. P. Oliver) and Caesar's background (Martha Lewis). Each of these gives 2 semester hours or $\frac{1}{2}$ unit graduate credit in Latin or Education. *Register before May 15 with J. L. Heller, 126 Lincoln Hall, Urbana.*

Attention is called to the Tufts College workshop advertised in this and previous issues. Like opportunities are available elsewhere for the alert teacher.

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